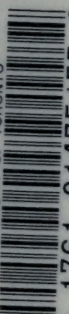


ABORIGINES
OF SOUTH AMERICA

COLONEL G.E. CHURCH

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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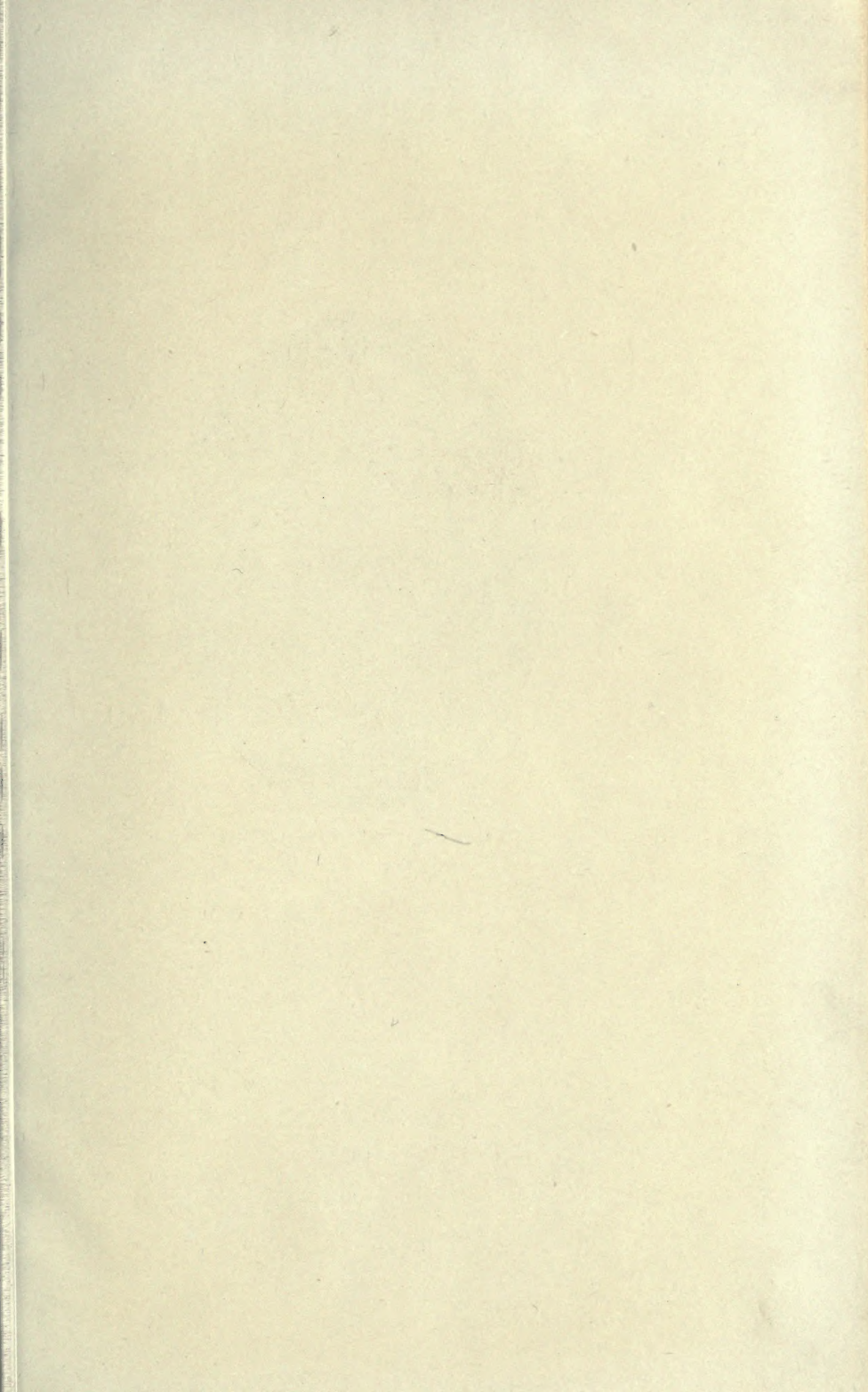
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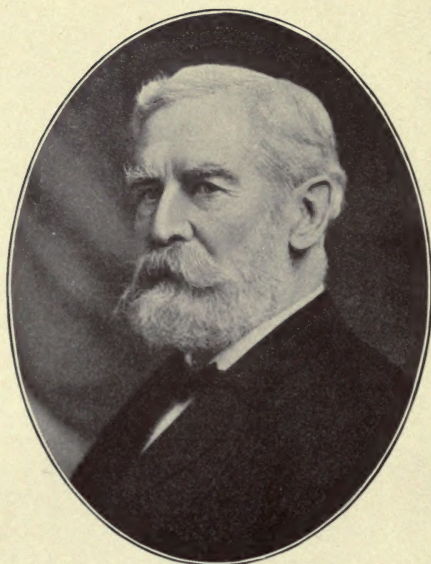
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ABORIGINES
OF
SOUTH AMERICA

BY THE LATE
COLONEL GEORGE EARL CHURCH

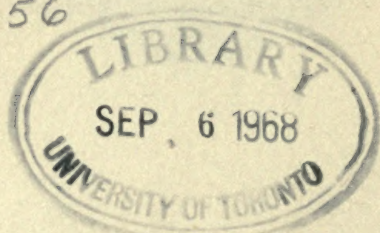
EDITED BY AN OLD FRIEND
CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B.

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“As monumental bronze, unchanged his look ;
A soul that pity touch'd but never shook ;
Train'd from his tree-rock'd cradle to his bier,
The fierce extreme of good and ill to brook,
Impassive, fearing but the shame of fear,
A stoic of the woods, a man without a tear.”

Gertrude of Wyoming.

PREFACE BY THE EDITOR

THE lamented author of this work is well known to geographers as an eminent authority on South America, the author of an interesting paper on the inland seas of that continent in geological times, and of a very important one on its physical geography. He had since applied his great knowledge and powers of deduction and classification to the preparation of a work on the aborigines of South America. It remained incomplete at his death, but the finished part included all the Amazonian races and tribes south of the great river, those of the Gran Chacu, as well as the Araucanian, Pampas, and Patagonian Indians.

Considering the amount of information now collected together for the first time, the value and interest of some of the author's conclusions, and his eminence as a geographer, Colonel Church's widow came to the conclusion that her husband's intention ought to be fulfilled, and that the manuscript should be published. It is hoped that the story of the noble Indians of South America, treated as Colonel Church's

experience and knowledge enabled him to treat it, will find many readers both in England and in America.

In his Introduction Colonel Church presents the reader with pictures both of the former condition of the vast Amazonian basin, and of its present state, covered with primeval forests, traversed by innumerable rivers, and supporting many wild tribes mainly as hunters and fishers.

The first chapter introduces the reader to the original home of the Caraio race (Caribs), held by Colonel Church to have been in Paraguay and the rich country between that region and the sea. Then the spread of this formidable race over the greater part of South America is described, until it extended its incursions to Guiana, and finally to the Antilles. The theory of its origin, of its conquests, and of the number of tribes owing their ancestry to the Caraio stock is most interesting, and in great part original.

The two next chapters are devoted to the Brazilian coast tribes, and to the Tapuyas, the aboriginal races, who were attacked and driven from their homes by the invading Caraios. Next, Colonel Church takes us to the foot of the Andes, and describes, very fully, the various tribes, especially the Chiquitos and Mojos. His next chapter is on Lowland Amazonia and its

tribes, including the great rivers flowing from the Andes, an account of the voyages of the early explorers, and of the labours of the missionaries. The chapter on the eastern slopes of the Andes embraces accounts of the forest expeditions of the Incas, and of the Spaniards soon after the conquests, as well as those of later explorers down to Dr. Heath in 1880. But this chapter is not finished owing, no doubt, to the fact that the work in that direction was still actively proceeding at the time of Colonel Church's death.

The seventh chapter contains a most interesting account of the Chiriguanos, a tribe of valiant warriors who maintained their independence until quite recent times. There is also an account of the treatment of the Indians in Tucuman, and of the *encomiendas*. Then follows a full account of the tribes in the Gran Chacu, and in the great Argentine plain. The last chapter completes the story of the Indians in the Gran Chacu, and treats of the Araucanians, the Pampas Indians, and the Patagonians. Here will be found a description of a desperate battle with the Pampas Indians, in which Colonel Church was himself personally concerned. The burial ceremonies, beliefs, use of the *bolas*, position of the chiefs among these southern tribes are described, and the work concludes with a description of the

entire change in their mode of life caused by the arrival of the horse on the pampas.

This very brief and inadequate review of the contents of Colonel Church's book is merely intended to show what a large field it covers, and that it is full of interest not only to the ethnologist and geographer, but also to the general reader. But it must always be remembered that the work is not finished, and that it is without the author's final touches and corrections.

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF THE AUTHOR

COLONEL GEORGE EARL CHURCH was directly descended from Richard Church, who was born at Oxford in 1608, went to New England in 1630 and settled at Plymouth in 1632. His name is frequently mentioned in the records of the colony. In 1633, he was admitted as "Freeman of ye Incorporation of Plymouth in New England," and, a few years later, he was granted permission by the court "to come with ye Ancient Servants for a share of land at Saconett." In 1636 he married Elizabeth Warren, one of the five daughters of Richard Warren, who reached Massachusetts on the *Mayflower*.

Richard Church had five sons, Benjamin, Nathaniel, Joseph, Richard and Caleb. The first, born in 1639, became the celebrated Colonel Church of the French and Indian Wars. His extraordinary and heroic exploits are matters of colonial history. Between 1689 and 1704, he was Commander-in-chief of five expeditions against the French and Indians. The life of Colonel Benjamin Church incorrectly gives his father's name as Joseph, but the Plymouth records always refer to it as Richard. By these records we find:—The above-named Richard Church, born in Oxford, England, 1608, married Elizabeth Warren:—their second son, Nathaniel Church, born in Duxbury, 1641, married Sarah Barstow:—their son, Richard Church, born in Scituate, Massachusetts, in 1669, married Hannah ——— (records mutilated):—their son, Richard Church, born in Scituate, in 1697, married Anna ——— (records mutilated):—their son, Lemuel Church, born in Rochester, Massachusetts, in 1721, married Bethia Clapp, whose mother, Mary Winslow, was directly descended from Governor Winslow,

of Massachusetts :—their son, Ebenezer Church, born in Rochester, Massachusetts, in 1767, married Lois Bennett, granddaughter of his uncle Richard :—their son, George Washington Church, born in Rochester in 1811, died at Mobile, 1888, married Margaret Fisher, of Edgarton, Martha's Vineyard :—their son, George Earl Church, was born at New Bedford, Massachusetts, December 7, 1835, married in 1882, Alice Helena Carter, née Church—a very distant relative. She died, without issue, in November 1898.

In 1843, the mother of Colonel Church removed to Providence, R.I., with her son George, whom she sent to the Arnold Street Grammar School, which he attended until thirteen years of age. He then went to the Providence High School. Mrs. Church died in 1887. At sixteen, her son commenced the study of civil and topographical engineering, and for a time was engaged in the survey of townships in Massachusetts, for the state map, and afterwards as Assistant Engineer upon several railway enterprises in Iowa. Before he was twenty-one he received the appointment of Resident Engineer of the Great Hoosac Tunnel of Massachusetts. When the works were stopped, on account of financial difficulties, he accepted the position of Chief Assistant Engineer on a western railway; but he was invited not long after to go to the Argentine Republic, where he became a member of a scientific commission sent by the Government of Buenos Ayres to explore the south-western frontier of the country and report upon the best system of defence against the fierce inroads of the Patagonian and other Indians living upon the *Pampas* and Andean slopes. For this wild and dangerous expedition the Government detailed a covering force of 400 cavalry. The commission rode over 7,000 miles in nine months and fought two severe battles with the Indians, one of which, on May 19, 1859, was a midnight attack upon the little force by 1,500 picked warriors of the Huelches, Puelches, Pehuenches, Pampas, Araucanians and Patagones. The attack was a surprise—naked and mounted bare-back upon their splendid horses, and with their long lances in line, they poured down upon the expedition in a magnificent charge by moonlight.

Then, for three hours, it was a hand to hand fight, where no quarter was given or asked. The Indians finally retired in good order, with 3,000 head of cattle and horses as the fruit of their daring raid. On the return of the Commission to Buenos Ayres, each member presented a plan for the defence of the frontiers; that of Mr. Church was published and adopted by the Government.

On the news of the outbreak of Civil War in the United States, Mr. Church, who was then engaged as Engineer on the construction of the Great Northern Railway of Buenos Ayres, resigned his position, returned home, and made application to the Secretary of War for permission to go before the West Point Examining Board to be examined for a commission as Second Lieutenant of United States Engineers. The application being refused, as contrary to regulations, he went to Providence and was appointed Captain of the 7th Regiment of Rhode Island Infantry, which, soon after, joined the Ninth Corps of the Army of the Potomac. The promotions of Captain Church were rapid. His commissions date as follows :—

Captain, 7th R.I. Vols., July 27, 1862; Lieutenant-Colonel 7th R.I. Vols., January 7, 1863; Colonel 11th R.I. Vols., February 11, 1863; Colonel 2nd R.I. Vols., December 31, 1864.

This latter commission was given to him on expiry of the term of service of the 11th R.I., but he was not mustered into service upon it, as this famous regiment was not recruited to the strength required before the close of the war.

In the charge on Mary's Heights, at the first battle of Fredricksburg, December 1862, the lieutenant-colonel and major of the 7th R.I. were killed, and, on the second day of the battle, Captain Church was put in command of the regiment, Colonel Bliss taking command of the brigade.

Colonel Church several times held a brigade command. At the defence of Suffolk, when besieged by Longstreet, he commanded the 11th R.I. Infantry and afterwards led the van with a brigade of four regiments, part of a force of 14,000 men, in a successful raid for the tearing up of the Seaboard and Roanoke and Norfolk and Petersburg rail-

ways. He, then, with his brigade, covered the rear, fighting several skirmishes as the force retired upon Suffolk. During the Gettysburg campaign, in June 1863, he was placed in command of the fortifications of Williamsburg on the Peninsula, having under him his 11th R.I. Regiment, the 2nd Wisconsin battery, battery E of the 1st Pennsylvania Artillery, and a squadron of the 5th Pennsylvania Cavalry.

While awaiting the recruiting of the 2nd R.I. to a proper strength to muster him into service, Colonel Church accepted the position of Chief Engineer for the construction of the Providence, Warren and Fall River Railway, which he completed in April 1865.

About this time, the French invasion of Mexico was deeply agitating the American mind. It drew from the pen of Colonel Church "A Historical Review of Mexico and its Revolutions," which the *New York Herald* paid him the compliment of publishing entire in sixteen columns of its edition of May 25, 1866. This review was, by Mr. Romero, then Mexican Minister at Washington, sent to the American State Department with the request to archive it as the best outline of Mexican history ever written, and, with permission of the author, he republished it in pamphlet form and caused a copy to be laid upon the desk of every Senator and member of Congress. It has been translated into German and French and, twice, into Spanish. The writing of this review resulted in Colonel Church going to Mexico to support the Liberal cause under President Juarez, who, shorn of his army, and with the mere shreds of a Government, had been driven northward even to within sight of the frontier of the United States. Colonel Church, accompanied by General Lew Wallace, rode 900 miles from Matamoros to Chihuahua, via Monterey, Saltillo and Parras, running the gauntlet of Imperial raiding parties, bandits and an incursion of Apache Indians from New Mexico. The latter killed 126 Mexicans in three days along the route taken by our adventurous travellers, and, finally, drove them to take refuge for one night in a loop-holed *mescal* distillery.

Arriving at Chihuahua, October 21, 1866, Colonel Church found President Juarez and his Cabinet and about

1,200 disorganized troops. Their artillery consisted of two small howitzers differing in calibre. For lack of iron, they were casting copper balls for them. Colonel Church remained seven months with President Juarez and his Cabinet, during which time he was quartered with General Ygnacio Mejia, Minister for War. He shared their privations, their defeats, their long marches and their successes until the capture of Maximilian at Queretero. The campaign which hemmed in the ill-fated Emperor and resulted in his capture was planned by Colonel Church at Durango, and within an hour of its being presented to the Minister for War, it had been discussed at a Cabinet meeting and orders hurried off to the several forces in the field to carry it into execution.

Two days before the storming of Zacatecas (January 27, 1867), the Imperialist General Miramon sent word to Colonel Church that he would shoot him in the Plaza if he caught him, and on the morning of the dashing assault of that ablest of Imperial generals he nearly captured him; for having given his own fast horse to President Juarez, Colonel Church was the last to dash clear of the Plaza but under a shower of bullets from a battalion of French Zouaves, while, only 300 yards distant, down the Bufa mountain road, came Miramon thundering along at the head of 900 cavalry. The race was for life—especially through the streets encumbered with the *débris* of the Liberal army; but across the country south of the city, Colonel Church describes his ride as a grand steeplechase for forty-two miles, in which he constantly gained ground until Miramon gave up the pursuit and returned to Zacatecas. Three days afterwards the Liberals retook the city.

San Luis Potosi struck off five medals to commemorate the recapture of that important city by the Liberal army—one in gold for President Juarez, a silver one for each of the Cabinet Ministers, and a silver one for Colonel Church, which was presented to him with considerable ceremony.

Some forty-nine letters from Colonel Church were published by the *New York Herald* giving his Mexican experience while there. They describe the varying fortunes of the Liberal cause from the day he arrived in Mexico until

the surrender of Maximilian. On the capture of the latter, Colonel Church rode 600 miles in six days to the Rio Grande frontier, and hurried through to Washington hoping that the Government would use its influence to save the life of Maximilian, but his efforts were fruitless—Mr. Seward, who was advised of his purpose, even denying him an interview.

Returning to New York, Colonel Church accepted employment on the editorial staff of the *New York Herald*, where he remained for over a year; but while thus engaged, the Bolivian Government sent General Quintin Quevedo, a prominent member of its Diplomatic corps, to invite him to undertake the long-cherished national project to open the 3,000 miles of Bolivian tributaries of the Amazon to navigation. These are separated from the navigable waters of the lower river Madeira by about 800 miles of formidable cataracts and rapids, principally in the territory of Brazil. He accepted the invitation, but proceeded to Bolivia *viâ* Buenos Ayres, opposite to which city on the Rio de la Plata, at Colonia, he selected and prepared a proper site for a marine slip for an American company. Then, with one servant, he rode overland 2,000 miles from Buenos Ayres to La Paz, the capital of Bolivia. Here, the required concession was granted to him for the navigation of the Bolivian rivers. He then returned to New York *viâ* Panama; but soon after his arrival, at the request of the Bolivian Government, he returned to La Paz and thence went to Rio de Janeiro, *viâ* the Straits of Magellan, to obtain the right to construct a railway to avoid the falls of the river Madeira which the Bolivian Government had failed to negotiate as they had agreed. The desired concession from Brazil was granted to Colonel Church with but little delay. He then went to New York and organized the National Bolivian Navigation Company in June 1870, under charter from the United States Government, and became President of the Company. We find him soon after in London, where he organized the Madeira and Mamoré Railway Company under his Brazilian concession, himself as Chairman of the Company. He then raised over \$6,000,000 to carry out the two enterprises and contracted the railway works with a powerful English

Contract Company. Again he went to Bolivia *viâ* Peru and the Tacora Pass of the Andes, reached the southern capital, Sucre, *viâ* Oruro, went to Cochabamba and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, a town at the head-waters of a tributary of the Amazon, organized a canoe expedition of eighty-three Indians and a few white men and descended the river Piray, the Mamoré and the falls of the Madeira. At the last fall, San Antonio, he was met by a small exploring steamer which he caused to be taken up the cataracts, she being hauled three miles overland *en route*. At the fall of Pederneira, he saved the lives of sixteen Indians who were clinging to a wrecked canoe in mid-river; while, at another rapid, his own canoe was wrecked; and, again, at the "Cauldron of Hell," he nearly lost his entire expedition. He returned to Europe *viâ* the river Madeira and Amazon.

The magnitude and promise of the project evoked the bitter jealousy and opposition of the merchants of the Pacific Coast, who held a commercial monopoly of the district it was proposed to open by the new route. It was suddenly discovered that an American Company held in hand an enterprise which promised to penetrate South America through its centre, turn its commerce from the old forced channels into natural ones and powerfully affect the political and inter-trade relations of several of the Spanish-American States. The fierce jealousies combined on all sides. The English Construction Company threw up its contract and joined the bondholders in an attack upon the railway trust fund, which they tied up, by injunction, in the Court of Chancery. The Bolivian Government then entered the lists and tried to seize the fund. Colonel Church fought these heavy odds as long as there was an inch of ground left to stand upon, and gained suit after suit from 1873 to 1878. The bondholders' committee then bribed the Bolivian President Daza with £20,000 to take sides with them, and instituted a new suit with the Bolivian concession revoked. Even this new suit Colonel Church gained in the Court of First Instance. The House of Lords finally settled the question by declaring the enterprise impracticable, although the Brazilian Government, which, throughout, had

given its unwavering support to Colonel Church, had, months before, at his request, issued a decree offering to supplement the existing fund with all the money necessary to complete the railway works. At the time the enterprise was broken up there were 1,200 men at work on the railway line and a locomotive running over the first section.

A few months after the wreck of his great enterprise, we find Colonel Church *en route* from Washington to Quito, under instructions from the then Secretary of State, the Hon. James G. Blaine, to make a report to the United States Government upon the political, social, trade and general conditions of Ecuador. He also, on that voyage, was entrusted by the English foreign bondholders of Ecuador with full powers to negotiate the readjustment of the National Debt of that country. He proceeded to Guayaquil, *viâ* Panama, crossed the Chimborazo Pass of the Andes, remained at Quito three months, rode north as far as the frontier of Colombia, and afterwards went to Lima, where he remained for a time and wrote his report to the United States Government, entitled *Ecuador in 1881*. This was published (Ex. Doc. No. 69 of 47th Congress) as a special message of President Arthur to Congress. The information it contains is widely and often quoted. Colonel Church then went to Chile and, *viâ* the Straits of Magellan, to Uruguay and the Argentine Republic, thence to Brazil, and returned to the United States by the way of England.

Later, in London, he engaged in financial operations of considerable magnitude connected with public works, and, in 1889, contracted to build a railway in the Argentine Republic for a million sterling. This work he completed in two years, in the midst of the Baring crisis, which ruined so many contractors for South American public works. In 1895, he spent three months in Costa Rica on behalf of the foreign bondholders of that country; and, also, during his stay there, made an elaborate report to the Costa Rica Railway Company upon the condition of their line.

Although still engaged in the construction of railways in the Argentine Republic, Colonel Church devoted much time to literary pursuits. He was a member of several scientific

and learned societies, including the American Society of Civil Engineers, and he was a member of the Council of the Royal Geographical Society for four years, and Vice-President, being the first foreigner, not an English citizen, ever admitted to that honour.

In 1891, Colonel Church represented the American Society of Civil Engineers at the International Congress of Hygiene and Demography held in London; and, in 1898, at the Bristol meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, he, as President of the Geographical Section, read a paper on "Argentine Geography and the Ancient Pampean Sea," which attracted great attention and was pronounced by *The Times* "one of the most scientific papers ever read before that Section." Numerous and extensive articles have appeared in the *Geographical Journal* from his pen, and, recently, one of its monthly numbers was almost entirely occupied by his "Outline of the Physical Geography of South America."

To his fine library of books in the several foreign languages with which he was familiar he devoted all his spare time; for he was a close student of history, geography and travel; but to fill in the details of his life would require a large volume—extensive travels in Europe and in most parts of America, and among the North and South American Indians, numerous exciting adventures, where the stake was life, had partially toned down the almost tireless physical forces of this representative of one of the old Puritan families of Massachusetts. Colonel Church married secondly in 1907, Annie Marion, widow of Frederic Chapman, Esq. He died at 216 Cromwell Road on January 4, 1910.

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THE ABORIGINES OF SOUTH AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

As we stand on the Andean threshold of Amazonia, we receive impressions such as are impossible in lands which have been tamed down by civilization. We get nearer to God than any prayer can place us, and there we fully comprehend how infinitesimally unimportant we are in the scheme of the universe. As our thoughts wander over the vast area which almost belts a continent¹ we are irresistibly translated to the Age of Discovery and imbibe its spirit of romance. We are bold navigators, explorers and *conquistadores*: we play with the destinies of barbaric kingdoms, and march through wonderland in search of new empires to conquer; like Orellana, we launch our craft upon gigantic and mysterious rivers which seem to flow interminably onward in search of the ocean: all around us are tribes of wild men as

¹ The area of South America is 6,798,000 square miles and that of the Amazon valley 2,722,000.

2 LEGENDS, BARRIERS TO CONQUEST

savage as the puma and jaguar which they hunt : we find that the lowlands are a forested world floating on the bosom of the fresh-water sea which Pinzon named *Santa Maria de la Mar Dulce* ; and, overlooking all, we see the inland range of the Andes with its resplendent crests and gigantic counterforts, and, everywhere, nature working on a grand scale tearing down and building up with terrible vigour.

At the date of the discovery of the New World, the human mind in Europe had been educated by its religious teachers to its maximum power of credulity, hence, for a period of two centuries afterwards, easy credence was given to the fantastic tales which peopled Amazonia with bands of female warriors, and which told of the rich empires of Paytiti, Omaguas and Enim, and of the golden city of Manoa and its *dorado* king. Many expeditions sailed from the shores of Europe to conquer these fabled lands, and even the followers of Pizarro, unsatiated with the plunder of Peru, organized bands of adventurers to subdue countries of such dazzling wealth. But, on every margin of Amazonia, nature had placed forbidding and formidable barriers, and if any hardy and indomitable *conquistador* succeeded in crossing the border, he found himself confronted by countless obstacles, against which his courage and endurance battled in vain.

BARRIERS SURROUNDING AMAZONIA 3

A broad belt of rugged, tropical, river-cut country lies between Amazonia and the coast of Brazil; the highlands, jungles and swamps of the French, Dutch, English and Venezuelan Guayanas almost forbid access to it from the north; wild regions of southern Matto Grosso and south-eastern Bolivia separate it from the Plata valley; on the west and south-west are the Andes piercing the clouds with an endless line of cold, sharp teeth. From the Pacific coast, it is no easy task to reach even the margin of the primeval forests. For a distance of nearly two thousand miles, from Santa Cruz de la Sierra to Quito, innumerable torrential streams descend the eastern slope of the inland cordillera, and, constantly swelling in volume, present ever-increasing difficulties to the penetration of the great valley from the west.

Many learned works have been written on the origin of man in the New World, and there have not been wanting erudite scholars who locate the Garden of Eden at the eastern base of the mighty peak of Sorata or Illampu; ¹ others who can lift the veil to an immensely remote antiquity and tell us when man first appeared in South America? Its habitable areas were probably well populated at a period coeval with the pliocene land mammalia, the remains of which are found in such

¹ Notably Emetrio Villamil.

abundance in south-eastern Bolivia, the Argentine Republic and Brazil.

The relations of the South American aborigines to each other were largely governed, at least for many thousands of years, by the inland seas which extended from the Ventana and Curumalal mountains of Buenos Ayres to the water-divide between the Amazon and Orinoco basins, if not to the Caribbean sea. The aggregate area of these—the Pampean sea,¹ the Mojos lake² and

¹ *Vide* the writer's presidential address before Section E of the British Association, 1898, on "Argentine Geography and the Ancient Pampean Sea." This sea or gulf occupied the central part of the Argentine Republic from the Paraná and Paraguay rivers on the east to the foothills of the Andes on the west.

² The drainage area of this ancient lake, which is that of the Madeira river to-day above its falls, was about 400,000 square miles. A great part of it is now an immense plateau which on an average lies about six hundred and fifty feet above the lower Madeira and Purús rivers. The Andes form its western and south-western rim, and, between the Mayu-tata (or Madre de Dios) and Purús, push low hills north-east towards the falls of the Madeira. On the eastern side are the Matto Grosso highlands, and, on the south-east, the low Chiquitos sierras overlooking the Gran Chacu. The great rim of the basin has two breaks, one leads north-east to the Amazon river and the other opens into the Plata valley. The rivers Mayu-tata, Beni, Mamoré, San Miguel and Itenez or Guaporé traverse this plateau and concentrate on the falls above named. With their multitude of affluents, they drain the slopes of the Andes from Cuzco south-east to the water-divide with the Paraguay river. The mountains from an elevation of about 10,000 feet down to their foothills are forested, but, once at their base, the wooded country gives

the Amazon sea¹—was about 1,115,000 square miles. Together, they separated South America into two grand divisions—the Brazilian and Andean. The inhabitants of each must have had their own peculiar and distinctive ethnological development, for communication between them was barred by a width of about four hundred miles of water. One land link alone, lying east and west between 17° and 19° south latitude, connected the two parts of the continent. The difficulties of its transit were formidable, but it

place to immense open plains of rich alluvial soil, the bed of the ancient lake. Its fertility is phenomenal, its countless natural products are of the richest, its climate the best of any part of Amazonia.

¹ “Between eastern Brazil and the river Madeira, below its falls, the general slope of the country is inland, from east to west; and from British and Dutch Guayana to the Rio Negro it is south-west. The lowering of Brazil in the direction indicated causes, in conjunction with the Andes, a depression in the heart of the continent having an area of about 400,000 square miles. It is probably the bed of an ancient lake of such recent geologic age that, for several months of the year, a greater part of it is still under water. Roughly, its south-eastern boundary was the Madeira river from the fall of Theotonio to the Amazon. Its north-eastern margin followed, more or less, the course of the Negro up to the mouth of the Uaupes. A line drawn thence to a point on the Ucayali cut by latitude 7° defines its north-western border. Its very irregular south-western shore extended in gulfs up the branches of the Purús and Juruá to the northern frontier of the Acre territory.”—*Ency. Brit.*, supplementary ed., article, “The Amazon,” by G. E. Church.

is still the only one in use. It separated the Pampean sea from the Mojos lake and served as a great inter-tribal bridge.

When the Amazon sea and Mojos lake were almost drained by finding an outlet to the Atlantic, nearly the entire lacustrine and fluvial features of Amazonia underwent a marked transformation. The gigantic rivers Madeira, Purús, Juruá and Rio Negro, and the Yapurá and numerous secondary streams, were formed from the drainage of the eastern flanks of the Andes. These crossed the old lake beds and gave to the Amazon sufficient volume to keep its track open to the ocean. The area previously occupied by the Amazon sea became a dense forest, which, even now, is yearly flooded to a width of four hundred miles. It is in bold contrast to the unforested part of the bed of the ancient Mojos lake, over the black soil of which in the dry season one may wander, as I can attest, for hundreds of miles without finding a pebble.

Coexistent with these huge bodies of water, a great lake, much larger than Lake Superior, occupied part of the Andean plateau. It is known as Titicaca, and is now not a tenth of its former area. Its desiccation still continues.

At present, the rain-laden, north-east trade winds, after crossing the Guayanas and northern Brazil, beat themselves dry against the eastern

flanks of the Andes, but when they were resaturated from the Amazon sea and Mojós lake, and, after sweeping across the narrow inland cordillera, again refreshed from Lake Titicaca, they must have carried sufficient moisture over the whole Andean region to fertilize not alone its tablelands, but, in connection with the Pampean sea, the great north-western deserts of Argentina and the arid belt of the Pacific coast, thus making the whole of Peru, Bolivia and the Atacama districts of Chile and Argentina a delightful and fruitful habitat for man and animal life in general.

Whether the Andes, since they were peopled, have been much lower than they are to-day is considered a moot question;¹ but when, at from twelve to fourteen thousand feet above sea-level, one finds numerous artificial terraces in Peru and Bolivia which are now utterly valueless for purposes of cultivation, we may well suppose that they were built by an ancient race at a time when meteorological conditions

¹ Darwin, in Chile and Peru, found evidences of ancient sea beaches at a considerable elevation above sea-level. David Forbes confirms this and says that, at Arica, the ancient sea beaches rise to about 2,000 feet above the sea. "For 550 miles of the Atacama desert, we have indisputable evidence of the recent elevation of the whole of this coast. . . . The series of saline deposits at from 7,000 to 8,000 feet above the level of the sea are developed on a grand scale."

8 CHANGE IN THE ANDEAN CLIMATE

and productiveness of the soil warranted their construction.¹

As Lake Titicaca and other Andean lakes and the inland seas slowly disappeared the climatic conditions of South America underwent a radical change: the Andean plateaux and Pacific coast lands lost their fertility, thus imposing on their inhabitants an increasingly severe struggle for existence and causing the survivors to crowd into the valleys and ravines that had partly escaped the general desiccation.

With the alteration of the physical conditions of the interior of the continent, the valleys of the eastern slope of the Andes gradually became

¹ Reclus, commenting upon the former condition of the Titicaca basin, says: "At that time the climate appears to have been much more humid than at present, and the whole depression was filled by an inland sea, at a much higher level than Lake Titicaca, as shown by the mountains skirting the Oruro plain, where the overhanging whitish cliffs, apparently deposited in water, stretch 200 miles away to the north."

According to Squier: The greatest length of the Titicaca basin, almost due north and south, is about 600 miles; its average width may be estimated at not far from 150 miles, thus giving a total area of about 100,000 square miles. The slope of this basin is gentle, towards the south. At or near its northern extremity lies Lake Titicaca, a magnificent body of fresh water and the recipient of several considerable streams."

My own estimate of the area of the basin is 106,000 square miles. Lake Titicaca flows southward through the narrow Desaguadero, a natural canal 170 miles long, into the small shallow lake Aullagas or Poopo, which has no visible outlet. The aggregate area of both lakes is now about 3,300 square miles.

accessible to the savage hordes of the lowlands, abundant in the low-lying districts, if we may judge of Amazonia as we find it to-day. The countless rivers rewarded the fishermen only during the cool season, when the water was clear. Nuts, honey, wild fruits, roots, the pith of certain palms, birds, monkeys, tapirs, deer, fish, alligators, tortoises, anteaters, lizards, snakes and other reptiles and grubs were the general diet of the savage.

Immense areas of lowland forests, yearly flooded, were appalling in their loneliness, and the sun's rays could seldom penetrate the closely-matted, perennial foliage which shaded the damp earth. Man and beast were driven to the vicinity of the river banks, where they led a gloomy, stealthy existence, for nature nowhere held out a caressing hand to them there, and all living species waged relentless war against each other—a strife in which man frequently showed himself to be the inferior animal.

Throughout Amazonia, apart from its upper Andean portion, the great rivers and their myriad affluents and flooded areas, so cut the country into sections that inter-tribal relations were extremely difficult, and the formation of a confederacy impracticable;¹ and even growing

¹ "The plan of government of the American aborigines commenced with the *gens* and ended with the confederacy,

10 ANDEAN SECTION OF AMAZONIA

tribes, in their strenuous struggle for life, were constantly disintegrating and throwing off their fragments to other parts of the valley. Sometimes an entire community, having exhausted the local food supplies, would suddenly change its habitat and move, perhaps hundreds of miles, generally by canoe, to another hunting ground—and migration meant war. It is safe to assume that they never could have emerged from their savage state. Only the lofty Andean section of Amazonia presented natural conditions which enabled its occupants to reach the upper status of barbarism. The degree of cold on the mountain plateaux necessitating warm clothing and the cultivation and storage of crops were alone powerful stimuli to mental activity and social advancement.

the latter being the highest point to which their governmental institutions attained. It gave for the organic series : first, the *gens*, a body of consanguinei having a common gentile; second, the *phatry*, an assembly of related gentes united in a higher association for certain common objects; third, the *tribe*, an assemblage of gentes, usually organized in phatries, all the members of which spoke the same dialect; and fourth, a *confederacy* of tribes, the members of which respectively spoke dialects of the same stock language. It resulted in a gentile society (*societas*) as distinguished from a political society or state (*civitas*). The difference between the two is wide and fundamental. There was neither a political society, nor a citizen, nor a state, nor any civilization in America when it was discovered.”—Morgan’s *Ancient Society*.

In savage Amazonia there were almost as many tongues as there were *gens*, and sometimes these changed their language according to locality and temporary conditions of life; for nothing round them was fixed and permanent, and no common purpose, either of culture, social organization, literature, agricultural pursuits, trade, conquest or defence gave any one of their languages sufficient backbone to ensure its long continuance or its extension among neighbouring tribes. Everything among them was disintegration. Under such conditions a *lingoa geral* could only be forced on them by some powerful conquering race, and, then, but partially, although the Indian learns the language of other Indians with extreme facility. Even the name of the gens, phatry and tribe was constantly subject to change; for, among themselves, they frequently took that of the chief or *Cacique* whom they allowed to lead them in war or on important expeditions, saying merely that they were "his men" to distinguish themselves from the followers of some other *Cacique*. The names of many of these chiefs, often misspelt, have erroneously crept into the long lists of so-called "tribes," although a larger part of the many hundreds of perplexing tribal names with which explorers, travellers and missionaries have embellished or encumbered their works are simply nicknames

conferred upon savage hordes by their scornful neighbours.

Even though the dominant races of South America, at the date of its discovery, may have had their territorial possessions to a certain extent defined, their control of them was rudely disturbed during the period of the conquest; for the whole ocean frontage of the continent was assailed by foreign invaders. With greed as merciless as it was pious, they pushed inland with cross and sword to civilize the savage and offer to him the consolations of the Christian religion in exchange for his lands, his freedom and his life. Wherever he sought refuge, he met new foes armed with strange weapons, against which his own primitive ones were powerless. On the west and north-west, the Pizarros, Benalcazars, Alfingers, Federmans, Quesadas, Espiras ¹ and their successors kept the Andes in a blaze: on the Brazilian coast was the lash of the Portuguese and the terrible half-breeds, the "Mamalucos" of San Paulo: in the Plata valley, the Spaniard made havoc among the tribes as far north as the upper waters of the Madeira affluent of the Amazon, while in Misiones, Paraguay, the Mojos and Beni, the Jesuit fathers, under the euphemistic but truthful name of "*Reduccioness*," *corralled* the Indians and *reduced* them mentally and physically to the level

¹ George of Spires.

of docile brutes. The whole southern slope of Amazonia was turned into a slave-hunting field and flamed with bondage and misery for the savage as he understood life; for, wild and fierce as he was, he was assailed by a hunter who far exceeded him in cruelty. Naturally, under such conditions, tribal migrations took place even more frequently than before, either as a whole or in sections according to the size of the tribe, and even races which had acquired considerable cohesion and a certain degree of advancement, such as the Caraio-Caraïbes, were largely dispersed and their fragments obliged to seek distant lands, where they dislocated weaker tribes, forcing them, in the struggle for existence, to, in turn, attack and oust others from their hunting grounds. Thus, during nearly the entire Colonial period, the native races were thrown into more than abnormal confusion from which they have never recovered.

It has been argued that the tribes of Amazonia lacked the mental qualities necessary to enable them to emerge from their savage state; but the question may be asked, What has civilized man been able to accomplish during the four centuries he has occupied the valley? Does he also lack the attributes or fitness to combat the forces of nature, develop and utilize the resources of the valley, and make it the home of one or more great

14 BRAZILIAN SEA-COAST AND ANDES

peoples? In reality, with all his advantages, he is worse fed there than were his aboriginal predecessors.¹

It may be doubted if Amazonia, from the base of the Andes to the Atlantic ocean, ever had a population exceeding 500,000 Indians, the maximum it could support by hunting and fishing supplemented by the forest food products. It is natural, therefore, as their numbers increased beyond the power of the country to sustain them, that many tribes sought the Brazilian sea-coast or else pushed up the Andes, seeking to solve the food problem permanently by sharing with the highland races their numerous herds of llamas and alpacas.

In tropical countries, man finds it comparatively easy to migrate, if unopposed, from low, hot lands to higher and cooler altitudes; but, once adapted to these, he never descends again willingly. Nothing can induce the Aymará Indian to change his home from almost the snow-line to the smiling valleys which lie within sight down the mountain slope. If the Aymará or

¹ "There are probably not twenty square miles of the Amazon basin under cultivation, excluding the limited and rudely cultivated areas among the mountains, at its extreme headwaters, which are inaccessible to commerce. The extensive exports of the mighty valley are entirely derived from the products of the forest."—*Ency. Brit.*, article, "The Amazon," by G. E. Church.

Quichua descends to the base of the Andes, on either side, he soon loses his stamina and health; and this is also true of his llama and alpaca.

In Costa Rica the inhabitants of the uplands dread a visit to the coast and can with great difficulty be induced to take service there. While in that country, in 1895, I studied this question carefully. On the railway between Port Simon and San José, only twenty-two per cent. of the employés were Costa Ricans, the remainder being nearly all negroes. Practically, the whole of the former were employed at an elevation above 1,500 feet, and all of the negroes below that altitude.¹

An accomplished engineer officer says of the hill tribes south of Peshawur:—"Under no circumstances would these independent people be driven to take refuge in the plains of India. They might diverge amongst kindred people, or they might migrate *en masse* to more remote and more congenial regions in the hills; but rather than be driven into the plains of India they would suffer extermination."²

It seems safe to assume that the lowlands of Amazonia were not populated from the mountain region, but that this was occasionally subjected to invasions by herds of savages from the Andean

¹ *Royal Geographical Journal*, July 1897, article, "Costa Rica," by G. E. Church.

² *The Indian Borderland*," by Sir Thomas Holdich.

16 STRUGGLE FOR THE BEST HOME

foothills. To defend themselves against their ceaseless raids the Incas and perhaps their predecessors found it necessary to construct extensive fortifications at the heads of all the valleys by which access might be had from the east to the Andean plateaux.

The importance and strength of the several tribes of Brazil at the date of the conquest depended largely upon the climatic and physical conditions of the districts they occupied. Bow and war-club had been busy for thousands of years in deciding to whom the most inviting territory and the best hunting and fishing should belong—'twas the old, old story of the human race.

Brazilian Guayana, lying to the north of the Amazon river and between the valley of the Rio Negro and the Atlantic, had few attractions. It must have been a refuge for weak tribes who could not hold their own in the contest for more enticing lands. Forests do not appear except in the river valleys and on their hilly margins. The rolling table-lands are frequently stony and sandy and covered with coarse grass and scrubby bushes or groves of stunted trees; numerous rapids are found in all the rivers. This district is still in the undisturbed possession of wandering hordes of Indians whose scanty numbers find the food-quest difficult.

Further west, and extending to the base of the Ecuadorian Andes, and lying to the north of the Amazon river, is a forested section of Amazonia in many respects far more habitable and food-producing than Brazilian Guayana. It is watered by the rivers Negro, Japurá, Iça, Napó and many large secondary streams, in the valleys of which, generally along the river banks, numerous gens, phatries and hordes had found a footing and a precarious existence. They must have suffered from frequent raids of the Caraïbes who penetrated the region, especially by way of the Rio Negro, which formed a part of their grand war-route from the Plata valley to the Caribbean sea and the Guayanas, as will be shown hereafter.

Perhaps the Amazon slope of Ecuador was found in general to be the least adapted to tribal growth and savage prosperity, owing to the exuberant vegetation, extremely hot, moist climate, insect pests and vast swarms of bats.¹ Few of the wretched savage families that wandered

¹ A Jesuit father, Chantre y Herrera, describing the Missions of the Marañon in the seventeenth century, writes—

“The bats kill domestic fowl and are the plague of these regions. In some seasons their multitude is so great that they leave nothing alive including live stock and swine. In Borja they consumed all the animals, even a considerable drove of hogs and a herd of nearly one hundred horned cattle, not leaving one alive. They do the same in Jeberos and Paranápura.” These vampire bats sometimes measure two feet across their outstretched wings.

over it found it possible to rise to the dignity of a tribe, despite the long tribal lists given by Velasco, Hervas, Vilavicencio and the missionaries of early times and accounts of recent travellers. South of the Amazon river, and occupying a greater part of the bed of the ancient Amazon sea, between the Purús and Ucayali rivers, were groups of almost amphibious Indians whose territory was but little envied by the better located tribes of Amazonia. It is a thickly forested country, lying so low that the yearly floods inundate a great part of it, leaving, here and there, elevated areas where the nomads may find lodgment. The Purús and Juruá and other streams drain this region. They are probably as sluggish and crooked as any of the great rivers of the world, as has been well shown by the explorations of Chandless. The lowland plateau of the Mojos and Beni, the former bed of the Mojos lake, is described elsewhere. At the time of the conquest, it was occupied by sturdy tribes whose prowess was acknowledged even by the Incas. The slopes of the Andes and their foothills, as has been mentioned, were well populated by fierce savages whose habitat was much superior in natural resources to that of their conquerors of the lowlands.

The Tocantins and its Araguay tributary define the eastern boundary of the Amazon basin,

between which and the Atlantic coast the physical character of the country is much more favourable to tribal growth than any part of lowland Amazonia. It became possible for tribes holding certain portions of it to reach a considerable degree of strength and importance, more especially those which had access to the ocean shore.

From the basin of the Tocantins as far as the river Madeira, are the remains of an undulating sandstone plateau cut into sections by many rivers, its irregular elevations, hilly and at times highland ranges, mostly flat-topped, presenting bold escarpments which overlook the streams that constantly undermine them. The greater part of this region, and the more broken and mountainous one lying between the extreme eastern drainage of the river São Francisco and the Tocantins above its Araguay tributary, is now known as the great wild land or *sertão*.¹ Its rivers are bordered by forests, but the slopes of the valleys are clothed with grass and scrubs. The intervening plateaux are frequently open, sandy and arid moorlands, rising from 1,000 to 2,000 feet above the sea, and are covered with tufted grass, bushes, flowering plants, cacti and dwarf palms. "In Goyaz," says Wells, "one can travel several days without sighting a forest,

¹ *Sertão* is an abbreviation of *desertão* or desert. In Brazil it generally means a wild, upland pasture country.

and the atmosphere of the breezy uplands is most delightful and exhilarating. They sparkle in the sunlight, are gemmed with fragrant flowers, and are lively with the songs of birds."

The principal occupants of this immense *sertão* area at the date of the discovery were the Tapuyas, the wildest savages of Brazil. They were so called by the Caraios who had driven many of them from the much coveted lands of the Atlantic slope; for these to the savage mind were a paradise, where the abundant products of the forests and the soil could be supplemented by those of the sea, and life was a continuous feast.

CHAPTER I

THE CARAIOS OR CARAÏBES

A DIVERSIFIED and delightful region which must have been especially attractive to the aborigines of South America now forms the States of Paraná, Santa Catharina, Rio Grande do Sul, Misiones and Paraguay, aggregating twice the area of France. Its western portion appears to have been the cradle of the Caraio race, which at the time of the conquest had not only spread over a large part of the area indicated, but, by various routes, had overrun the whole Atlantic slope of Brazil.

According to Ulrich Schmidel,¹ the Caraios of

¹ Ulrich Schmidel accompanied the great expedition of the Adelantado Pedro de Mendoza to the Rio de la Plata and remained there from 1535 to 1552. During that period of time, he was, as a common soldier, engaged in nearly all of the stirring events incident to the conquest of the Plata valley, including Paraguay. His account of them, although rudely written, contains much valuable information regarding the Indian tribes, especially the Caraios, and is justly held in high esteem. A translation of Schmidel, published in Buenos Ayres in 1903 by the "Junta de Historia y Numismatica Americana," and enriched by bibliographical and biographical notes by General B. Mitre and annotated

22 ABORIGINES OF SOUTH AMERICA

Paraguay could muster forty thousand bowmen, and he estimated their territory at three hundred square miles; but his miles were about four English ones each, being seventeen and a half to the degree. Their principal settlement was at or near the site of the "Puerto de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción," now the capital of Paraguay.¹

Schmidel confirms the account of Cabeza de Vaca as to the wonderful fruitfulness of the home of the Caraios. He says: "They had abundance of food, maize, mandioca, sweet-potatoes, ground-nuts, fish, meat, deer, wild pigs, guanacos, rabbits, geese, pheasants, honey in great quantities, and much cotton"—it was a veritable land of plenty.

Villalta, who was under Juan de Ayola, successor to Mendoza in his expeditions for the discovery of new lands on the Paraná and Paraguay rivers, says that, ascending the latter, they "reached the land of the Indians, Caraios, who in other parts of the Indies are called Caribes. These Indians, Caribes, welcomed the Christians and gave them an abundance of food, such as maize, sweet-potatoes, beans and *abas*, for they

by Lafone Quevedo, is probably the best of the many editions which have been published since the original appeared in German, in 1567.

¹ This was founded by the Spaniards not later than 1538, but, probably, August 15, 1537.

are accustomed to labour and breed animals, for in this way they get a living." They also depended on the Caraibes for supplies "when they had to descend the river to the *Carios who in other lands are called Caribes*."—Carta de Francisco de Villalta, *Biblioteca de la Real Accademia de la Historia*, Colecion Muñoz, 1536-56, quoted in translation of Schmidel, Buenos Ayres, 1903. Schmidel says, "The Caraios made longer voyages than any nation of the Rio de la Plata. They are great warriors by land."

Ethnologists now call the Caraios "Tupi-Guaranis," a misnomer, for it is doubtful if ever there was a Tupi or a Guarani race. When the missionaries first landed on the Brazilian coast and tried to ascertain the names of the tribes, they found that nearly all of them called themselves "Tupis," but although not a racial name the holy Fathers found it a useful one by which to designate all of the aborigines who spoke nearly the same language—a *lingoa geral* which they rapidly utilized for the spread of the gospel.¹

"Tupi or Tupy primarily means paternal

¹ Alencar in "*O Guarany*" considers that the term Guarany signifies *indígena brasileiro*. "At the time of the discovery Brazil was populated by nations belonging to a great race, which, a long time before had conquered the country and expelled its previous occupants, the chroniclers in general usually called this race by the name of *Tupi*, but this designation was only given to some nations."

uncle, and secondarily companion, comrade and fellow-countryman. The connection in the popular mind is clear, when we remember that their relationship was only on the father's side, the mother being, as it were, but the nidus or cradle which lodged the child. After the father the nearest of blood was the Tupi or father's brother, and they had scant regard for fraternity. Nor perhaps shall we err in considering that the title of uncle, still a favourite amongst the civilized peoples of Europe, came in ancient times from the East. 'Yá Ammi,' 'O my (paternal) uncle!' is heard every day amongst the Arabic-speaking races."¹

The Romans made an important difference between the paternal and maternal uncle—*patruus* and *avunculus*. In Spain, Portugal and Brazil, the country people call any one *uncle* whose name they do not know. Varnhagen² admits that the name Tupi, which has been given to a race, means *uncle* only—thus "Tupi-mbá, *good uncles*, Tupi-aem, *bad uncles*, Tupi-ikis, *neighbouring uncles*." Thevet calls them *Toupinambaux*; Jean de Lery, *Toupinambaoult*; Claude d'Abbeville, *Tpoynambas*; Yves d'Evreux, *Topinambos* and *Tapinambos*.

¹ Sir Richard Burton in his *Introduction to the Captivity of Hans Stade*.

² See *Trattato Descrittivo do Brasil*, note 231.

The so-called Brazilian Tupis were in reality Caraios or Caraïbes and their offshoots.

But Varnhagen¹ holds that the Tupinambás were the primitive national trunk of the indigenous population of Brazil and that Tupi means "those of the first generation." He believes that the various divisions of the race became known by different names according to tribal characteristics, "such as Tupi-naem, Tupi-ninquis, Tupi-nikis, Tupi-nanabáranas, etc., but some Tupis called themselves Guaranis and others Caribs or Carys. There was a unity of race and tongue from Pernambuco to Porto dos Patos, and from S. Vincente to the remote *sertãos* at the sources of the Plata."

This tongue, according to the celebrated Abbot Hervas, was not Tupi but "an excellent dialect of Guarani from which it does not differ so much as Spanish does from Portuguese."

Montoya² is as much disposed to call the language Guarani as he is to call it Tupi, perhaps leaning more to the former than to the latter, and Varnhagen, in editing an edition of Montoya,

¹ He finds "no distinction between the term Tupi and Carib."—*Hist. Geral*, Vol. I, p. 57.

² Montoya was a missionary at the Reduction of Loreto near the River Paranapanema of Brazil. He wrote important standard works on the "*Tupi or Guarani, or Guarani-Tupi*" language.

mentions a Neapolitan missionary who, previously to Montoya, called the language "Guarani."

Conto de Magalhães, in *O Selvagem*, 1876, states: "If in Paraguay any one said *guarani nhehen* to translate the expression Guarani language, no one would understand him, because, for the people, the name of their tongue is *ava nhehen*, literally *the language of men*," thus they alone were men, and those who did not speak the same language that they did were inferior beings whose idiom "was as unintelligible as the notes of birds. He who spoke the tongue of the savage was their relative, of their blood, and consequently their friend, and those who did not speak it, their enemy."

The Caraió, to proclaim his prowess, boasted that he was a "Guarani," meaning "a great brave, a grand man, a warrior." "*Ana carina rote!*"—"We only are men!" and "*Amucòn paporòro itòto nantò!*" "All the other people are our slaves!" were the haughty vaunts of the Caraios or Caribes who ultimately spread over two-thirds of South America. Wherever they marched or settled, throughout Brazil, the Guayanas, the Orinoco valley and the Antilles, they caused themselves to be respected as superiors, and, had nature not forbidden it, they probably would have organized an empire far

more extensive and powerful than that of the Incas.

The fierce struggle which was still going on at the date of the Discovery between the Caraios and Tapuyas for possession of the Brazilian littoral indicates that the Caraios became one of the great militant races of South America long after an extensive empire flourished in the Andean region and primitive savage hordes had overrun Amazonia. One searches in vain for any evidence that they reached it from the north-west or by the way of Florida and the Antilles, as many writers have supposed.¹ In the southern

¹ Varnhagen believes that the race came in successive waves from the north : Sir Richard Burton thinks that they originated in the middle Amazon valley : the Abbé Velasco would derive them from the Omaguas of eastern Ecuador : Von Martins says "they probably migrated from the countries on the Paraguay and La Plata north and north-east as far as the river Amazon and the ocean, but were not the only race occupying that vast territory."

According to Hervas : "It is probable that all the nations which speak dialects of the Guarani language are off-shoots of the Guarani of Paraguay or of the Guarani or Tupi of Brazil."

"Where did the Tupis come from ? From the north," says Gonçalves Diaz. "From the extremely fertile regions of the Amazon and the countries between this river and the Orinoco were the districts most populated and those which offered most advantages to men almost without a home, without arts, without agriculture and without clothing."

How such densely forested regions could be the "most populated" and especially "without agriculture" he does not explain.

part of the continent, the Spaniards first met them at the head of the estuary of the Rio de la Plata, where they held the islands in the delta of the Paraná with outlying settlements which extended from the river San Salvador, in the Banda Oriental, to the vicinity of Carcarañá or beyond it to the north; but from that point until Paraguay was reached no Caraios were to be found. According to Lafone Quevedo, it was the Guaranis (Caraïos) who destroyed the fort of Sancti Spiritus established by Sebastian Cabot on the Paraná river, and he says "for me, Charruás, Querandis and Guaranis are invading races." "It is for me beyond doubt," says Gonçalves Diaz in a paper read before the Instituto Historico do Brazil, "that the Tupi race, far from being autochthonous, was the last or only conquering race."

It does not appear necessary, with our present

A strong proof as to the original home of the Caraio race is that their language is still found in its greatest purity in Paraguay. During their conquests, as they spread over Brazil, the Guayanas and the Orinoco valley, it was modified by the many other tongues with which it came in contact as well as by the changes incident to environment; this was especially the case when the Caraïbes disputed with the Arawaks the possession of a large area of north-eastern South America. Many Arawak words became incorporated with Caraïbe. It may be said that the greater the distance from the parent hive a Caraïbe tribe was found the more its language became subjected to dialectic variations.

knowledge, to consider the Caraios as an invading race. The region which was their cradle was better suited than any other east of the Andes for the gradual development of those mental and physical qualities which so boldly distinguished them, at the date of the Discovery, from the other peoples of South America; but it must have taken a vast period of time to differentiate them, even in a small degree, from their congeners; but a far shorter period than has been required for the primitive savages of Asia and Europe to evolve and define such very distinctive racial and national characteristics.

The tribes of Amazonia, owing to the vast tracts of forested lands which prevented the extension of agricultural pursuits on an extensive scale, obliged the savage tribes to split into hordes, so that they might support life principally by hunting and fishing. Difficulties of communication caused such tribal divisions to become permanent, and lack of contact between them resulted in constant differentiation of languages until, as we have seen, these became almost infinite in number and ever changing as all tongues must be which have no written form. So soon as two hordes ceased to be able to converse with each other they became foes.

The changes in the shape of the mouth and tongue, the alteration of the form of the facial

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muscles incident to the character of food are potent factors in the formation of a language-mode of life forced by the surroundings of the habitat of the tribe.

Language is by no means a safe clue to ethnological descent, says Prof. Kirchoff. People talk of the "Latin race." The Spaniards and the Rumanians speak Romance, while the ancestors of the Spaniards spoke Iberian; those of the Rumanians, Thracian; the Danes conquering Normandy adopted Romance, then crossing to England they re-Germanized their language; Africans, too, change their tongues as readily as their clothes.

Even the tribes themselves recognized the necessities incident to their environment, for Vasconcellos (p. 51) relates that "with reference to the change of languages the Indians said that in the lapse of time, differences in places and divisions among themselves on account of their hatreds and wars, they were obliged to discard the words of their country and avail themselves of others newly invented."

The Indians whom Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca met, in his famous march from Santa Catharina to Paraguay, were all Guaranis (Caraios), and spoke the same language.¹

¹ He treated them so well that they even came from distant parts to supply him with provisions, and they brought

De Lery tells us that the Caraios, among whom he lived in southern Brazil for a considerable period of time during the first half of the sixteenth century, "were a people of nobler mien than their neighbours. Among them were certain leaders called Caraïbes who were held in the greatest reverence and esteem as Pagés."¹

The influence of the Caraïbes over the people was paramount. They were medicine-men, wise-

food, such as fowls and honey, as they passed along the road, saying to the Spaniards that "provided they would not be angry they would give them plenty to eat." Many of the districts traversed were well populated. "The Indians rear many fowls, geese and other birds and have an abundance of game, such as boar, deer, tapirs, partridges, quails and pheasants. They grow plenty of maize, potatoes, cassava, peanuts and many other fruits, and, from the trees, they collect a great quantity of honey."

¹ Ferdinand Denis in a note to his edition of Yves d'Evreux says: "The Caraïbes of the American continent, who formed an immense nation, were renowned throughout America for their valour and perspicacity. Their Piayes, or, if one likes better, their divines, influenced them above all those of other nations. They were to the New World what the Chaldeans were to the Old. Simon de Vasconcellos gives us the proof of this intellectual supremacy; in the south of Brazil, the Caraïbe-bébé were nothing else but divines. . . . Various names have been conferred upon them, such as Piayes, Pagés, Pagy, Boyés or Piaches."

Thevet mentions that Pagé is equivalent to demi-god.

According to Montoya, "*Carai* is a word by which the Indians universally honour their sorcerers. They applied it to the Spaniards and very improperly to the name Christian."

men, astrologers, prophets, sorcerers and devil-propitiators; for the Caraios firmly believed in the all-pervading power of the evil spirit, Aygnan, who took many shapes. The sun, moon and stars obeyed their orders, they let loose the winds and the storms for they possessed all the power of the "cloud-compelling Jove," the most ferocious beasts of the forests were submissive to them, they settled the boundaries of hunting-grounds, interpreted dreams and omens, were entrusted with all secrets, were father confessors in all private matters and exercised all the power of a sacred priesthood. They held life and death at their disposal, but at times, if many of the sick died, the Indians killed the Pagé. In general, however, as Yves d'Evreux says, "they exercised a prodigious influence from the mouth of the Orinoco to that of the Rio de la Plata." Wherever they appeared they were treated magnificently, and the best of everything was given to them. They went from village to village decorated with the richest plumage, and three or four of them were to be seen at all dances and reunions sumptuously clad and with head-dresses and bracelets made of brilliant feathers of different colours. In each hand they held a rattle called a *maracá* (a gourd containing pebbles), to which they attributed a certain sanctity, saying that it contained a spirit that spoke to them. They

often took a reed, at the end of which they had the herb *petun* (tobacco) dry and lighted. From this they blew the smoke, in all directions, upon the other savages, saying to them, "so that you may overcome your enemies, receive all the spirit of force"; and thus these master Caraïbes did several times in succession.

Claude d'Abbeville remarks: "These Caraïbes say and command nothing which is not executed immediately by all of the people, even the most aged, as we have frequently observed."

The Pagé is still a power in some of the wild regions of Brazil and Amazonia, and preserves all of the ancient customs of his caste. Some fifty years or more ago an old friend¹ of mine met a Pagé named Cuyabá, chief of a horde of Cayowá Indians on the Paranápanema river, an eastern branch of the Paraná. He was a man of middle age with bold, well-cut features, framed with a dense, streaming mane of long black hair. In his lower lip was a long thin cylinder of resin resembling amber—a *xerimbitá*; a great number of black and white beads covered his chest in regular rows, and from a broad girdle was sus-

¹ Franz Keller, an eminent German Civil Engineer, employed by the Brazilian Government in various explorations from 1860 to 1870. His work, *The Amazon and Madeira Rivers*, richly and most artistically illustrated by himself, contains valuable information regarding the wild tribes of Brazil.

pended an apron fringed with rich woven ornaments. Although he had never seen a white man before, he did not deign to show the least surprise, and took his seat at table with a quiet supercilious self-possession.

To cure a bad case of rheumatism "he sang aloud his exorcisms, and shaking the *maracá*, the sound of which is especially disagreeable to the bad spirit Jurupari, danced round his patient, a young Indian, the while smoking a cigar of immense size and of peculiarly miraculous potency, the smoke of which he blew into the sufferer's face and over his naked body. Presently, he began to stroke and shampoo him from top to toe with such wild energy that, in a short time, the perspiration poured in streams down his own and the patient's limbs. After he had by a steady course of stroking from the middle to the extremities, pretended to concentrate the disease in his fingers and toes, like one of our jugglers, he pulled it out with a sudden wrench, put it into his own mouth and swallowed it with fearful grimaces. He then declared the sick man to be cured, and as the latter without any doubt felt some relief after all that kneading and perspiring, the Indian public at large was more than ever convinced of the efficacy of the huge cigar, the *maracá* and the magical words, and of Cuyabá's power over diseases and evil spirits."

It is evident that the Caraïbes were the governing class, and that whatever leadership the Caraios had in their warlike expeditions in South America and the Antilles was probably exercised by them. They formed, as it were, a religious caste which absorbed supreme power over the tribes, enslaving their thoughts and controlling their actions. By the time the Caraios had reached the valley of the Orinoco and the northern shores of South America and swarmed over the Antilles and the coast lands of the Caribbean sea and Gulf of Mexico, they had all become Caraïbes or Great Carai. Thus the Spaniards called them in those regions, and finally adopted the word *Carib* to designate any cannibal savage irrespective of race or tribe.¹

On the Atlantic seaboard, the Caraios took possession of the coast belt of Brazil from the vicinity of Uruguay far to the north-east of Rio de Janeiro, marching from the south and gradually displacing and driving to the interior the more savage indigenous tribes of Tapuyas who were the primitive people; but these tribes fought desperately to retain their contact with the

¹ Herrera says of the expedition of Juan de Ayolas, after it ascended the Paraná river and discovered the mouth of the Paraguay: "Continuing his route" (up the Paraguay river) "with the same crews, they arrived at the land of the Garioes (Carios) Indians, which in other parts of these Indias they call Caribes."—Dec. V, Lib. X, Cap. XV.

ocean. It does not appear that the Caraios conquered any of the country to the south of the Lagoa dos Patos. Here they came in contact with a formidable nation of nomadic savages, the *Charrúas*, whose territory was Entre Rios, the coast line of the present Uruguay, and about ninety miles inland. The Jesuit fathers, however, indicate that the Charrúas were located in Entre Rios, and that the portion of Uruguay above mentioned was the field of their nomadic excursions. The Charrúas were of Guaycurú stock, and Dobrizhoffer mentions them as being joined with the Abipones and other Guaycurú tribes of the Gran Chacu in their raids on the Spanish settlements of Santa Fé. D'Orbigny includes them in his *Pampean Race*.

According to Azara¹ the name Charrúa first appears in the famous Memoria de Diego Garcia, 1526. In 1530 Pero Lopez de Souza makes no mention of Charrúa: he met Beguoaa, Chanaá or Chanás. The Charrúas were so named by the interpreters taken by the *conquistadores* from Santa Catalina who spoke the *lingoa geral*, or Guarani. Between Charrúa and Abipon there was little difference, and the latter, with the

¹ *Geografica Fisica y Esférica de las Provincias del Paraguay y Misiones Guaranies*, por D. Felix de Azara, 1790 MS., en la Biblioteca Nacional de Montevideo.—R. R. Schuller, ed.

Frentones, Mepenes and Payaguás, were tribes of the great Guaycurú family. All the tribes extending along the southern seaboard of Uruguay, both margins of the Paraná-Guazú and the east margin of the Rio Paraguay to 19° S. lat. were of Guaycurú stock. For three centuries the Payaguás were the pirates of the Paraguay and Paraná rivers, descending especially from the latter. At first the river Paraguay was known as the Payaguá from its domination by the agile, vigorous and robust Payaguás.

The Guarani applied the name Mbeguá to all the tribes, not of his race, which lived from Cape Santa Maria (south-east Uruguay) to the Rio Bermejo. Those to the north of it he called Guayacurús.

Just south of 20° S. lat. the Caraios in their conquests met the Ou-etacas, probably of Tapuya stock. They are described by de Lery as "wild, savage and strange, and in continual war with their neighbours. Like dogs and wolves, they eat meat raw. Even their language could not be understood by the tribes in contact with them—the Margaia, Cara-ia or Tououpinambaout."

The Caraios¹ also threw off branches to the

¹ Lafone Quevedo calls attention to the province of Caria, which, in 1562, was included in the jurisdiction of the kingdom of Chile on the eastern slope of the Andes, north

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north-east of Paraguay, throughout the immense drainage basin of the upper Paraná, and crossing the water-divide took possession of the best lands in the valleys of the rivers Tocantins and Araguay and their many branches. Yves d'Evreux asserts that the Pará river, the outlet of the Tocantins, was thickly populated by Tupinambás (Caraios), and von Martins mentions that the Tochi or Cuchiwaras (Tupi tribes) are said to have both come down the Tocantins and settled at its mouth. It is certain that, by the way of the Paranáyhyba tributary of the Paraná, they reached the Brazilian coast by descending the great river São Francisco.¹

of Mendoza, thus showing that the Caraios had even penetrated 700 miles south-west from Paraguay.

¹ "The first inhabitants of Bahia de todos os Santos and its confines, according to the accounts given by very old Indians, were the Tapuyas, who are a very ancient caste of people. These Tapuyas were driven away from Bahia and the neighbouring coast by another race, their enemies, who descended from the uplands. The fame of the abundance of the earth and sea of this province reached the Tupinaes" (Caraios) "and they made war, one people against the other, until the Tupinaes conquered and drove out the Tapuyas, and forced them to leave the margin of the ocean and flee to the *sertão* without power to return and again possess themselves of this land of which they were once lords, which the Tupinaes acquired and ruled many years, usually waging war on the border of the *sertão* with the Tapuyas, the first possessors of the coast slopes, for the Tupinambá, learning of the fatness and fertility of this land and coming from beyond the river São Francisco, descended

Moreover, they ascended the river Paraguay and its Cuyabá branch, crossed the divide, descended the Xingu and Tapajos and occupied the best districts *en route*. To reach the Xingu¹ required a land transit of about two hundred miles, but the sources of the Cuyabá and Tapajos are only separated by the narrow plateau ridge of Trombador, in places but three miles wide. They could readily make the portage with their canoes; for, to-day, large boats are dragged across the watershed between navigable points on either side.

From the upper Paraguay river, to the north

upon the territory of Bahia of which they made themselves masters and held it until the arrival there of the Portuguese, and from said Tupinambás and Tupinaes who have preserved the memory of these events from generation to generation this information has been acquired."—*Noticia do Brazil*, 1589.

¹ Von den Steinlu and Claus, in 1886, found the valley of the Xingu inhabited by eighteen different tribes although the population did not exceed 2,000. Claus reached the conclusion that among them are representatives of nearly all of the principal groups of dialects of South America.

In 1887 the same explorers found the upper Xingu and upper Tocantins tribes totally ignorant of the use of metals. They were in the Neolithic age and used only stone axes. Claus believes from their language and their pottery that they belong to the once powerful and aggressive Carib nation, and, in fact, to be a relic of the original stock of that people who migrated from south to north. "One of the nine tribes proved to be primitive Tupis speaking the language on which the early missionaries founded the *lingoa geral*."—*R. Geo. Soc. Journ.*, Vol. VIII.

of latitude 18°, the Caraios penetrated westward across the Chiquitos sierras to the base of the Andes near the site of the present Santa Cruz de la Sierra, at the head waters of the Madeira affluent of the Amazon. Thence, under the name of Chirihuanos,¹ they took possession of the beautiful lands of the Andean foothills for a distance of at least three hundred miles to the south-west.

Following the line of least resistance, the Caraios overran the territory to the north of the Chiquitos sierras, located one of their tribes, the Guarayos, on the banks of the Rio San Miguel, descended the Mamoré branch of the Madeira and the long series of rapids and cataracts of the latter, and finally debouched into the great Amazon itself. Among the cataracts and between these and the river Purús they established a colony of Caraipunás, the descendants of which tribe were still there when I went down the Mamoré and Madeira in 1871.

The Caraios must have found it easier to reach the Amazon by this route than by either the Tapajos, Xingu or Tocantins, which great rivers and their affluents are frequently obstructed by

¹ In 1555, Domingo Martinez de Irala, writing to the Council of the Indies regarding his expedition from Paraguay to the confines of Peru, speaks of the Chirihuanos as *Carios de la Sierra*.

rocky barriers, and are broken into torrents and falls locally called *cachoieras*—the Xingu alone a continuous series of four hundred miles of rapids and formidable cataracts, while Chandless says of the Tocantins that “an uninterrupted stretch of from fifteen to twenty miles is considered very long.” The Madeira river has its entire obstructions concentrated in the two hundred and forty miles of the “Falls of the Madeira,” above which the Mamoré has six hundred miles of continuously free navigation, while below the last fall of the Madeira and the ocean there is no obstruction whatever.

Moreover, food supplies were surer and much more abundant by the Madeira route than by any other; therefore it is safe to assume that between the Plata valley and the river Amazon and the whole of north-eastern South America this was the Grand Avenue adopted by the Caraios for war, trade and conquest.

So aggressive a people did not stop at the mouth of the Madeira, but carried their exploring and warlike expeditions down the Amazon to the sea, probably being reinforced *en route* by any Caraio tribes which had descended the Tapajos, Xingu and Tocantins. Nearing the ocean, they turned south-east and followed the coast belt of Brazil until they joined hands with that portion of their race which had pushed its

conquests along the Atlantic shore from south-west to north-east. Thus they had encircled Brazil south of the Amazon river and had occupied the valleys of all of its principal rivers east of the Madeira. They had cut the country into sections, and made themselves the dominant barbaric race of eastern South America.

By following their lines of march we dispel many of the doubts and much of the speculation regarding their origin and the directions from which their invasions took place.¹ But it must not be supposed that they remained in peaceful occupation of the Brazilian littoral. Its possession meant endless warfare, not only against the

¹ Misled by the idea that the Caraios first invaded South America from the north, Varnhagen, in somewhat contradictory terms, supports his views, in his *Historia Geral do Brasil*, by the statement that "those of Bahia asserted that they arrived there from the *sertão* beyond the river São Francisco. Those of Cape Frio pretend that they proceeded from the Caribs from the south of Brazil. Those of S. Vicente held that their ancestors were from Rio de Janeiro and its vicinity. Finally, throughout the coast of Brazil, there are traditions that the Tupis, no matter in what district, had possessed themselves of it coming as conquerors from the north after having forced southward other Tupis who controlled it." He admits, in his *L'Origine Touraniennne des Américains Tupi-Caribes*, and proves that "the Tupis and Caribes were the same race, the Tupis called themselves Carys, and their immediate descendants in Southern Brazil called themselves Cary-ós, while people of the same language who inhabited the Antilles and the neighbouring continent called themselves Caribes,"

primitive savages, the Tapuyas, but against successive hordes of other Caraios who, toughened by the terrible hardships of the long march from the parent hive, sought to share the delights of what to them was the land of rest and promise.

The Caraios also ascended the Amazon from the mouth of the river Madeira until they reached the Rio Negro. This led them to the valley of the Orinoco, which, doubtless, they penetrated by the way of the Casiquiare canal, as well as by crossing the narrow isthmus of Pimichin, which is still in use, by an easy portage of ten miles, for canoes and boats between the waters of the Amazon and those of the Orinoco.

Availing themselves of the Rio Branco branch of the Rio Negro, they opened facile communication with the present British Guayana by way of the river Essequibo, the portage between the two streams being very short and easy of transit. They formed *en route* another Caraipuna settlement to the eastward of the lower Rio Branco and left, on the entire line of this their great northern main avenue to the Atlantic ocean, numerous evidences of its occupation by them. From the Essequibo they continued their conquests until, finally, they became the dominant race throughout the region now known as British, Dutch and French Guayana, as well as the coast region lying between the latter and the mouth of the

river Amazon. This completed their mastery of the Atlantic slope of South America from the delta of the Orinoco almost to the entrance of the estuary of the Rio de la Plata.

Continuing up the river Amazon, above the mouth of the Rio Negro they established a settlement near the Iça or Putamayo river, and, under the name of Omaguas, occupied a continuous stretch of country on the banks of the Amazon, and among its islands, for a distance of several hundred miles. So thoroughly did they leave their impress upon Amazonia that even now, as Bates ¹ says, "Tupi is spoken with little corruption along the banks of the Amazon for a distance of 2,500 miles." This being true of the main river, it requires no stretch of the imagination to believe that the Caraios ascended all of its principal affluents and opened communications with the various indigenous tribes living on their banks or within easy reach of them.

The tribes of the interior often made treaties among themselves, as did the Caraios of the coast belt of Brazil, but the latter rarely if ever made a treaty with the former; for, between the original possessors of the soil and the Caraios invaders, there existed continuous and remorseless hatred and sanguinary reprisals. The Caraios grouped all of the inland tribes under the name of

¹ *Naturalist on the Amazon*,

“*Tapuyas-caa-póras*” or “opponents inhabiting the jungles, and forests,” meaning not only this, but that they were “mild monsters”; but it is well to bear in mind that the Caraios, in their own intertribal wars, also used the term *Tapuyas* to designate their “opponents” without employing the suffix *caa-póras*, which modified its meaning in the manner stated. Every one not of the same race they called “*Tapuy*,” from *taba*, a village, and *puya* to fly: “those who fly the villages.” The European they termed “*Tapuy tinga*,” or “White barbarian.”¹

The Caraios were imbued with maritime instincts. And their extensive experience on the great fluvial highways of the continent and on the coast of Brazil made them expert canoe-men. Their warlike expeditions frequently consisted of a great number of canoes carrying from

¹ One early Brazilian writer who travelled extensively among the tributaries of the upper Amazon, says that *Tapuia* is a corruption of *Tapueia*, which is the national name of a people who spread along the margins of the rivers until they even reached the sources of the Amazon (*Revista Trimensal*, Vol. X, p. 487). Von Ihering makes the interesting statement that “The name *Tapuia*, given to the tribes which were not Tupis, only it appears for practical purposes, has been recognized as well founded by recent investigations, which show us that these numerous tribes are related, not only ethnographically, but in regard to their physical characteristics. The cranium of the *Tapuias* is dolichocephalous and that of the *Tupi* brachycephalous.”—*Anthropology of the State of S. Paulo, Brazil*, 1904.

thirty to sixty men each, but once they reached the Caribbean sea they enlarged their craft so as to carry from eighty to one hundred warriors with provisions for long voyages—a remarkable development considering their environment, the scanty means at their command and their ignorance of the use of metals. They explored and traded along the sea-coast of Venezuela, Colombia, the whole of the Caribbean sea, the Antilles, and, probably, the entire Gulf of Mexico including Florida. Their expeditions must take rank with those of the Vikings along the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts of Europe, and although more slenderly equipped they were quite as daring. They overran many of the West India islands and left traces of their language, culture and presence among them, and before the time of the Discovery had conquered most of the lesser Antilles from Trinidad to Puerto Rico,¹ and had made forays among the Bahamas.

¹ A profound student of the ethnology of the West India islands says, in an address on "Prehistoric Porto Rico": "When Columbus landed on the island of Guanahami, the first native words he heard belonged to a language which was one of the most widely distributed of those of the New World, a tongue which, with dialectic variations, was the speech of our Central South America to the coast of Florida. These dialectic differences in the speech of the Antilles aborigines were small, the Caribs of the lesser West Indies and the Lucayans of the Bahamas being linguistically of the

Numerous writers have given us descriptions of the Caraio-Caraïbe-Tupi-Guarani type of man; but he varied in size, colour and personal appearance according to the habitat of the tribal division of which he was a member, as all races do. It must not be overlooked that his race was dominant over an area of several millions of square miles, that, in certain regions, it was largely sedentary, living principally by agriculture; in others hunting alone was the source of food, or hunting and fishing gave sustenance; but on the Caribbean sea-coast and among the Antilles the Caraïbes were practically a maritime people. We find them in open country, forested uplands, inundated lowlands, Andean foothills, great lake districts or along thousands of miles of the banks of rivers, and from the temperate to the torrid zone in almost every imaginable climate. Absolute uniformity of physical characteristics was therefore impossible, but the Caraio-Caraïbe was always a splendid type of man, the proud, forceful, dominating savage, reserving all rewards of future

same stock, as has been repeatedly pointed out by several writers ancient and modern. This same stock had left traces of its language and peculiar culture on the Spanish main along the coast of Mexico, which facts are significant, but have led to erroneous views of the relationship of the aborigines of Central America, Cuba, Hayti and Porto Rico.”—J. Walter Fewkes, Smithsonian Institute.

life for those who knew how to face privations and struggles with indomitable courage.

D'Orbigny, who travelled extensively among the Guarani tribes of Paraguay and Bolivia, describes their colour as yellow, a little red and very clear, without the brown appearance of the people of the mountains and plains. The depth of colour not always the same, its intensity depending on locality. The Guaranis of Corrientes and the Chirihuanos of Bolivia have a colour much deeper because they inhabit the plains or open country, while the Guarayos and Sirionós living in forests, impenetrable to the rays of the sun, resemble many of the people of southern Europe. He gives the average height of the Guarani at about five feet six inches, but the women are generally small. The form of the body among the Guaranis is massive, the chest well rounded, large shoulders and haunches, the limbs plump, round and without salient muscles, the hands and feet small. The women could not be more massive, broad and short. They possess all that is required to give them vigour for hard work and reproduction. Their neck is always voluminous and well placed. The Guarayos, in the depths of their beautiful and humid forests, have had, without doubt, their characteristics modified by local influence so powerful and so productive.

The Guaranis may be distinguished at a glance from the Pampean tribes. Their head is round, the forehead does not slope back, but, on the contrary, is elevated. The face is almost circular, the nose short and not very large, the chin short and round, the mouth of medium size and somewhat salient, the lips are rather thin, the teeth beautiful and white, the eyes small and expressive and always raised at the outer angle, sometimes as if *bridé*, the eyebrows are well arched and the hair is long, coarse and black.

Commenting on the effect of moral influences upon the physiognomy of tribes of the same nation, d'Orbigny says that, "Among the Sirionos, Chirihuanos and Guarayos every individual is filled with the consciousness of his personal valour, while among the Jesuit missionaries the spirit of servility stifles all sentiment of self-respect and dignity."

Hans Stade remarks, "I have sailed along the Brazilian coast about five hundred miles (leagues) and have been at many places in the interior—the people are a reddish-brown colour on account of the sun which burns their bodies. They are a well-shaped race."

Such is a description of the Caraios in their original home. If we take them in the far-off Antilles, as described by Rochfort about the

middle of the seventeenth century, we find them "well proportioned, very agreeable and pleasant faces, medium height, large shoulders and haunches, plump and more robust than the French. They have large round faces, most of them with dimpled cheeks, medium size mouth, perfectly white teeth, skin naturally of an olive colour which extends even to the whites of their eyes, which are somewhat small and black, the same as the Chinese and the Tartars, but more penetrating. The forehead and the nose are flattened by artifice, but are not naturally so, otherwise they would have the nose well formed and the forehead prominent like ours. They have large, flat feet because they go barefooted, but so tough that they resist everything in the forests and on the rocks. They all have black hair. One sees beautiful girls and handsome women among the Caraïbes.

"In 1871, I met the *Cacique* and a few members of a small tribe of Caraio stock (the Yacarés) on the river bank among the falls of the Madeira. He was about five feet six inches high, and, according to my journal, which I quote verbatim, was a 'perfect model for a statue.' He appeared as if carved out of glossy, light-brown marble. He had a pleasant face, a good, full forehead like those who were with him, and, like them, the practical organs of the brain were

immensely developed. His chest was full and broad, and round his arms just below his shoulders, and round his legs below the knees, were tightly bound long ribands of palm. Others, coloured black, bound his wrists and ankles. Besides being ornamental, they were supposed to give force to the muscles. Some of my Indian canoemen wear tightly drawn strings round the forearm, six inches above the wrist, for the same purpose. The English navy does likewise, and in the East Indies the Wudder working caste bind leather bands round their wrists.

“The *Cacique* and his group were direct from Paradise, only they did not bring their fig leaves with them. They all wore tushes of the capivara, one through the lobe of each ear, a string passed under the chin and tied to each tash prevented their being lost. Like some of the Indians on the upper Amazon river, above the Madeira, the *Cacique* wore two little tufts of red feathers projecting horizontally on either side from the gristle of his nose.

“The long, thick, black hair of these savages was all cut alike, straight across the forehead, then straight from the eyes back to the ears and the rest hanging loosely behind the ears and down the back. They all had good features and pleasant faces, fine, white teeth and good

mouths with medium, but not heavy lips. Their heads were larger than the average of my canoemen, who are from the Mojos district of Bolivia, and their eyes are black, bright, pleasant and of medium size; they lose sight of nothing. They told us that they occupied the country from the Abuna river to Girão falls, having also two *malocas* on the east side just above Tres Irmãos rapid. We could not ascertain the number of their tribe, but it is not numerous."

They were the wild Indians of the forest and lived as Nature dictated; for they were her children, and she nurtured them as best she could. I looked at the splendidly built *Cacique* with sympathy and admiration. He and several of his tribe dined with me at my camp table in all the modesty of a nakedness which they did not realize, for civilization had not yet reached them and taught them to be ashamed of themselves.

CHAPTER II

BRAZILIAN COASTAL TRIBES

FROM the mouth of the Amazon south-east to the river Jaquaribe and inland to the eastern margin of the valley of the Tocantins the population of the vast region was numerous. When the French and Portuguese undertook to subdue and colonize it, they found fragments of many tribes, but the mass, especially of the inland ones, were of Tapuya stock. The geographical position of this part of Brazil suggests that it had become a land of retreat and recuperation for many of the Tapuya hordes which had been pushed down the valley of the Tocantins and the Rio São Francisco by successive Caraio invading armies on their way to the littoral which they ultimately occupied and were called by the European colonists *Tupinambás*.¹

¹“We know that among the so-called Tapuyas with whom the historians have populated the space between Pará and the river Jaquariba, the Potiguaras, Tobajaras, the Tupinambás and even the Tamoyos predominated, tribes which they confess belong to those which spoke the *lingoa geral* in contradistinction to others who were the Indians of

From Maranhão to the river Parahyba the country was occupied by the Tobajaras, or Tabajares as they are called by Yves d'Evreux. They were descendants of the famous Tobas, and the first Brazilian tribe which allied itself with the Portuguese against the French. Like the Tupinambás, whose name they sometimes took, they were of Caraio origin. They lived in little groups of *malocas* (large one-storey habitations), which the Portuguese dignified by the name of villages. "*Toba*" signified "village," and "*yara*" meant "master"—masters of the villages. They also, with their kindred the Caytés, possessed the country between the river Parahyba and the Rio São Francisco, but had overrun this area subsequently to its conquest by the Caytés.

The European invaders of Brazil found that several powerful tribes held its littoral, each having the northern and southern boundary of its territory defined, and each clinging to all of the hinterland it could defend against the savages of the interior. Of the present division of the country, the Pitigoares possessed the region between the rivers Jaquaribe and Parahyba, which comprised a small part of south-eastern Ceará and the coast of Rio Grande do Norte and Parahyba.

the *sertão*, the enemies of the tribes of the coast region."
—Gonçalves Diaz, *Revista Trimensal*.

The Caytés¹ occupied the coast slope of Pernambuco and Alagoas, between the Parahyba and the great river São Francisco as before stated. They had for neighbours, on the south, the Tupinambás. The country of the latter extended from the Rio São Francisco to Bahia de todos os Santos and its islands, and south to the river Camamú. Bordering their lands on the south were the possessions of the Tupiniquins, or Tupinikins, whose southern frontier was the river Cricaré, now known as the San Mattheus, in Espiritu Santos. This stream was the northern frontier of the Goiatakazes, the southern one being the river Parahyba, near Cape São Thomé. The coast and mountainous district of Rio de Janeiro, between Cape São Thomé and Angra dos Reis, belonged to the formidable Tamoyos, or "ancestors." South of these were the Goaynazes, located on the ocean frontage of the Serra do Mar, from Angra dos Reis as far south as the bay of Cananeia at the south-east corner of São Paulo. From there to the Lagoa dos Patos were found the Carijós.

From Soares we learn that from the Lagoa dos Patos to the mouth of the Rio de la Plata the tribes were of Tapuya origin, a domestic, well-conditioned people who did not eat human

¹ Spelled in many ways—Caytés, Calhetés, Cahetés, Cayetés, Caités, etc.

flesh, and, "though they lived so far from the Tapuyas of the *sertão* of Bahia, they were all one and had almost the same manners and customs."¹

Such were the names of the grand divisions only of the coast tribes and their territorial possessions when the Portuguese first effected a lodgment on the Brazilian coast. They were not the original invaders who had driven the primitive savages to the interior, but were mostly Caraio tribes who had ousted others of their own race by hard fighting, probably for many generations. It was due to intertribal wars that the Portuguese made such an easy conquest of Brazil.

¹ Gandavo thus comments on these coast tribes: "Although divided into several nations, known by different names, their form, manners, customs and religious ceremonies are absolutely the same, and if any difference is observable it is not worth attention nor consideration among so many things equally true of all. These Indians are of dark colour, smooth hair, the face as if petrified, and resembling the Chinese a little. They are active, robust and well made; they are brave, do not fear death, are bold in war and imprudent, cruel and vindictive. Their language, along the whole coast, is the same, although it differs a little at certain points; but one may always understand it, and this as far as 27° S. lat., because farther on there are other Indians that we do not know so well, and who speak an entirely different tongue. The one in use along the coast is very soft and easy for all nations to learn. There are words used by men alone, and others only employed by women."—*Histoire de la Province de Sancta-Cruz*. Pero de Magulhanes de Gandavo, 1576.

According to Soares, the Tupinaes, in ancient times, held the whole sea frontage,¹ but were driven from it principally by the Tupinambás. The Tupinaes, forced back to the *sertão*, the territory of the Tapuyas, were obliged to war in front against their traditional opponents, and in the rear against their own Caraio race until, practically, they were exterminated. The old men of this nation claim that the Tupinambás and Tupinaes were all one in the remote past, but when the latter occupied the sea-coast the Tupinambás lived in the *sertão*.

The Pitigoares (Pytagoares, Potyguaras, Ptyiguaras, as spelled by different early writers) could muster thirty thousand bowmen, they were in continuous conflict with their relatives the Caytés to the south of them, and, long after they were driven from the coast, to the *sertão* by the Portuguese, they continued their feuds. They were very warlike and so skilful with the bow that nothing escaped them. They were also great fishermen and were always provided with

¹ "It is an historic tradition that the Tupinaes, attracted by the fertility of the land, descended from the *sertão*, and, after obstinate and long wars, obliged the Tapuyas to emigrate to the interior. There are those who say that the Tupinaes emigrated from the temperate regions of the south in the vicinity of the tropic, and that they communicated with the Autochthons, who extended to Chile,"—Colonel Accioli, *Revista Trimensal*, Vol. XII,

an abundance of food, both from the land and sea. Their name signified "shrimpers."

The Caytés (*caa*, a bush, and *ete*, good) claimed that they came from a beautiful country towards the tropic of Capricorn which they called Cayté, and which was well forested with immense trees, "and, because they were held to be the most valorous and the greatest warriors of all the other nations, they were known as Tupi-nambás."¹ The Caytés were a terror to the Portuguese navigators along the coast, and captured and ate the crew and passengers of every vessel wrecked upon their shores. In 1556, they sacrificed and devoured the first Bishop of Bahia, Pedro Fernandez Sardinha, together with the Procurator of the Royal Treasury, two canons of the see, two pregnant women and some children, all of whom were returning to Portugal in a French brig when they were wrecked on the reefs in the Rio São Francisco.

By constant war with their neighbours, and with the Portuguese during the sixteenth century, the Caytés were almost annihilated, a few only being able to escape to the interior. They were divided into many families, and, generally, took the name of the locality which they inhabited, such as Paraná-enguare, or "inhabitants of

¹ Claude d'Abbeville,

the shores," and Ybiapab-enguares, "those of the mountains."

Of the Tupiniquins or "lateral neighbours," it is believed that they and the Tupinaes descended all from the same trunk, that, although they had their differences and their wars, they were not really unfriendly to each other, they spoke the same language, led the same life, and had the same ceremonies and habits as the Tupinambás. Soares states that "there is as little difference between their language and customs as there is between those of the inhabitants of Lisbon and those of Beira; but they are more domestic and truthful than any others of the coast of this country and always aid the Portuguese against the Aymorés, Tapuias and Tamoios." This last fact appears to have given the old chronicler an extremely good opinion of the Tupiniquins.

Next to the south come the Goiatakazes. They had conquered their possessions from a formidable tribe called the Papanazes, whom, after long and bloody wars they drove back inland. It is believed that the Goiatakazes, Goaynazes and Papanazes were of the same tribe. The Goiatakazes were of lighter colour than the Tupiniquins, spoke a different language and were very barbarous. They were great bowmen, and did not fight in the forest but in the open,

They were wonderful swimmers, and armed with a pointed stick allowed themselves to be attacked by the shark, which they killed by thrusting the stick down its throat. The shark's teeth they used for arrow heads. In part, their manners and customs were those of the Tupinambás, although they were of Tapuya origin.

The Tamoyos were large, robust and valiant men who boasted that they were the first inhabitants of that part of America and the trunk from which all others sprang. They hostilized all other tribes except the Tupinambás, whom they claimed as kinsmen and good friends, and whose language and customs were the same as their own. In fact, they called themselves "Tupinambás," and were so termed by the savages of São Vicente. They had, as southern neighbours, a tribe of Termiminós, that is "nephews or descendants."

Like the Aymará and Quichua races of the Andes, they had single words expressing remote degrees of relationship which would appear to indicate that family ties were strong and much cherished by them; for instance, Tamôi meant *grandfather*, Cheramôiruba, *my great-grandfather*, Cherúramôi, *the grandfather of my father*.

The Goaynazes maintained ceaseless strife with the Tamoyos as well as with their Carijó neighbours. They are represented as having

been neither malicious nor false. They were not in the habit of making war except to defend their territory. They lived by hunting and fishing, and by gathering wild fruits. Although their language differed from the tribes on their confines they could converse with the Carijós. The old writers gave them different names—Guianás, Goyaná, Guayaná, Goaná, and, plural, Goaynazes, Goayanazes and Guayanazes, probably meaning brothers or relatives. It is the origin of the name Guayana, the proper designation for the several subdivisions of north-eastern South America. We shall hereafter find a large section of them in Brazilian and French Guayana, under the name of Roncouyennes given to them by the French colonists, although they there called themselves Ouayanas or Gouayanos.

Many of the ceremonies, modes of life and customs of the Goaynazes were the same as those of the Tupinambás. Tradition has it that they were once driven from their territory by the Tamoyos, but that they returned to dispute with them and the Carijós the possession of the littoral.

The Carijós were found to be a domestic, rather peaceful people of good size. They were not cannibals, and lived by hunting, fishing and the planting of mandioca and vegetables, like the Tamoyos and Tupiniquins, and they had

houses well covered and protected by the bark of trees. They warred in the open country against their foes, especially the Goaynazes. Although not of the same stock, their customs and ceremonies were similar to those of the Tupinambás.¹ They bravely resented the European invasion of their country. In 1533, they completely destroyed the gold-hunting expedition of Martin Affonso, which attempted to penetrate to the interior.

Before the Caraios overran Amazonia they must have reached a certain degree of racial cohesion, and the various tribes to some extent must have acted in unison when they launched out from the central hive; but, as we have seen, the interests and ambitions of the various divisions of the race began to clash in proportion to the value and abundance of the food-products yielded by the several regions over which they extended their conquests. In their original home, they were largely an agricultural people, supplementing the products of their fields of maize and vegetables by those of the chase, and therefore taking the initial steps to a higher form of life; but when they poured their hordes northward,

¹ According to Ferdinand Denis, the Carijós more nearly approached the agricultural tribes of the Guaranis, having a real analogy in language and customs to that great people, although their manners were softer.

into lands less adapted to sedentary pursuits, they retrograded; and only afterwards, in certain parts of the coast territory of Brazil, did they find themselves, as regards agricultural possibilities, approximately as well situated as they had been in their original habitat; but, as indicated, their conquests entailed on them interminable war with the original Tapuya owners of the soil, as well as with their own kindred, over an impossible satisfactory division of the maritime region. When they descended the rivers into the low-lying lands of Amazonia, they had nothing but the primary impulse and virility of the race to carry them across its densely-forested, terribly-flooded and purely hunting-and-fishing area to the northern seaboard of South America, and it is safe to assume, had they confined their conquests entirely to the Amazon valley, that they would have degenerated until they became as low in the scale of savagery as the tribes which they found there. Were it possible suddenly to populate that tropical region with one hundred thousand civilized people, cut them off from contact with the world, and give them only the tools and weapons of the Neolithic age, they all would become, in the course of a few generations, *Tapuyas-cao-póras*; for it requires no effort for a so-called civilized man to revert to barbarism—the savage would quickly crawl out of his skin.

CHAPTER III

THE TAPUYAS ¹

BETWEEN the Tapuyas and Caraios there were many contrasts which indicated that they were not of the same origin. Their colour, habits, ceremonies, languages and physical appearance were widely different. Moreover, they had the most invincible antipathy to each other. The Tapuyas also were nomads without habitations and agricultural pursuits except in rare instances, and then only on a limited scale in comparison to the Caraios. Another marked difference was that the Caraios considered that fighting was an attribute only of virility, and, therefore, their women were not permitted to take part in combats, while those of the Tapuyas were allowed to fight beside the men. This may account for the report given by Fr. Gaspar de Carbajal of

¹ It is the opinion of Von Ihering (see his *Anthropology of the State of São Paulo*) that the name Tapuya is well founded by recent investigations which show us that these numerous tribes are related, not only ethnographically, but in physical characteristics. The cranium of the Tapuyas is dolichocephalous and that of the Tupi-Guarani brachycephalous.

a battle which Orellana had with "Amazonas," or female warriors, as he descended the Amazon.¹

Neuwid makes the Tapuyas a dirty brown colour, Von Tehudi a dirty, nearly bronzed brown, and, by Barlaeus, we are told that the Tapuya tribes, who were friends of the Dutch, and inhabited the district of Ceará and Maranhão, had very black hair, a robust appearance, forbidding faces and a wild look. They ran with almost as much speed as the animals which they hunted. Their reputation for cruelty was proverbial, and they were greatly feared by the other savages as well as by the Portuguese. They were all cannibals and even ate the corpses of their relatives, preserving their bones, which, on solemn festivals, they reduced to powder, which they soaked in water and then swallowed.²

¹ This battle is supposed to have taken place on the southern side of the Amazon river a little above the Rio Tapajos.

² Sir Richard Burton describes the Indians of Tapuya descent whom he met in the great bend of the lower São Francisco river: "The pure blood showed the well-known signs—big, round Kalmuck heads, flat Mongol faces with broad and distinctly marked cheek-bones, oblique Chinese eyes, not unfrequently *bridés*, rather brown than black, and dwelling upon objects with a fixed gaze; dark and thick eyebrows, thin mustachoes fringing the large mouths full of pointed teeth, and small beards not covering the massive chins. The hair brought low down over the forehead was that of the Hindu, jetty and coarser than in the pure Caucasian. The nose had an abominable *cachet* of vulgarity,

With exception of the Aymoré division of the Tapuyas, the Portuguese could learn but little of the race from their Caraio enemies during the first century after the discovery of Brazil, and that little was extremely vague, for they dared not penetrate to the interior of the country for fear of being eaten. Only late in the seventeenth century exploring and other expeditions began to force their way inland and give account of their voyages, but immense regions persisted in retaining their secrets until even after the close of the colonial period. All the information gained confirmed the traditions that the Tapuyas were the most ancient people, and had once held the Atlantic coast belt from the mouth of the Rio de la Plata to that of the Amazon and two hundred leagues of the southern margin of the latter river, as well as far inland from the entire shore of the ocean.

When we consider the length and breadth of the vast cordon occupied by so warlike and formidable a people, we are able, in some degree,

small and squat, with broad, fleshy nostrils—in fact the feature was all that an Arab's is not. They were well made men, except that the trunk was somewhat too long and large for the legs, and the shoulders seemed to project horizontally just below the ears. The extremities showed delicacy of size and form, and the skin was brown-yellow, and ruddy only where exposed to the light and air.”—*Explorations of the Highlands of Brazil.*

to estimate the strength, persistence and power of the barbaric Caraios invaders who, after innumerable onslaughts, were able to break through it and drive the Tapuyas back to the fastnesses of Minas, Goyaz and Matto Grosso.

It is not improbable that the contending races alternated for centuries in the possession of the littoral, where, feeding lavishly on the good things of earth, forest and sea, they acquired habits of ease and luxury, and, naturally, lost some of their warlike vigour, while the previous occupants, less pampered in the *sertão*, hardened in fibre, toughened by hardships, trained to severe endurance and animated by implacable hatred, were being fitted to again try conclusions with their mortal foes.

Among the Tapuyas, tribe followed tribe, disorganized but having in view the same purpose. They fought in their course whomsoever they met, even their own kindred, taking no note of identity of origin. It was a grand, savage rush for the sea, and, during the sixteenth century, it was still continued with obstinate ferocity.

One of these great invasions had taken place some time before the landing of the Portuguese in Brazil. The hordes were composed of the Goiatkazezes, Papanazes and Goaynazezes, all of Tapuya stock. They succeeded in cutting their

way through to the ocean, and the Portuguese found them occupying certain stretches of the coast lands as herein defined. The Goiatakazes and a few sub-tribes had, however, been in possession of their districts a sufficient length of time to acquire some of the Caraio customs, such as living in huts, making a few small plantations of vegetables, and they also adopted their method of burying the dead. Therefore they had lost some of the brutality and ferocity which distinguished other Tapuyas, and to a great extent had even abandoned their cannibalistic habits.

Thus, at the date of the Discovery, there were two or three sections of the Brazilian coast in temporary possession of the Tapuyas; but, on the other hand, it may be said there were Caraio tribes occupying extensive strategic areas of the interior, although the vast inland region of Brazil as far west as the Rio Madeira was the great Tapuya hive.

An unorganized mass of Tapuyas especially terrible, even among the most redoubtable of these primitive savages, was the Aymorés or Aimburés. They were widely spread, in scattered groups, over the interior under a multiplicity of names which they gave themselves or which other tribes had given them. In Minas they were Creman or Cracmum, a name

which they had adopted and the one by which they were generally known. They were Inas and Arary, and Naknanuks or inhabitants of the sierra. They were Endgerecmung and Pejaurum on the Rio Doce, and Jequitinhona and Guerens in parts of the Captaincy of Bahia and even to-day on the Itaipé. To the northward, they were Xamekrans, Pomekrans and Crangés of Maranhão, and Timbiras of Pará. They were also the Guaimures of de Lait.

Some three centuries after the discovery of Brazil, the Portuguese named them Gamellas or Botocudos, on account of the large disk of very light wood which they inserted in the lower lip and lobes of the ears, and which, in Portuguese, is known as a *botoque*, or bung, but which the Tapuyas called an *embure*. They sometimes increased it to frightful dimensions.

They eagerly devoured human flesh, and killed their prisoners without mercy. They were taller and of lighter colour, more robust and muscular, broad shouldered and better proportioned than the other Tapuyas. They generally had small, bright, black eyes, but sometimes blue ones, which they considered a mark of beauty; gross lips and noses, and foreheads always sloping back. The skin was yellow with the forehead of a reddish tinge; but the Pomekrans and Crangés, according to travellers who frequented

their country, were quite white. Their thick hair was as black as coal. Their senses were pre-eminently acute, and they were grossly sensual.

The earliest writers, Gandavo, Gabriel Soares and Vasconcellos, agree that the Aymorés were the most brutal and inhuman of all Brazil, and it is related that certain of the less powerful bands, flying from their enemies, retired to the wildest and most sterile regions of the *sertão* where they could not be reached, and as they lived there separated from contact with all other people, their children and grandchildren, in the course of time, lost the use of their mother-tongue and formed another, understood by no other nation, ugly, guttural and dragged out of the chest. They were a gigantic people, robust and forceful. They had no hair on any part of the body except the head; all the rest they plucked out. They used bows of great size and were such dexterous shots that not even a fly could escape their arrows. They were extremely swift runners, did not live in houses, villages or fixed localities. They wandered through the forests and fields like wild beasts, both men and women entirely naked. They had no cultivated lands, but sustained life by wild fruits and the hunting of beasts and birds, which appeared to obey their bows. They always attacked from ambush, never in the open.

Says Gandavo, "Ordinarily, they lived dispersed, but they called each other together by whistling like monkeys or sparrows. They gave no quarter to any one, and were so prompt and expeditious in their vengeance that sometimes they cut pieces of meat from a man while he was still alive and roasted them before his eyes. In a word these savages are more sanguinary and cruel than it is possible to express. The Portuguese have captured a few of them, but they are so barbarous and of such a wild nature that they have never been able to tame them."

D'Orbigny remarks that, in everything, the Aymorés resemble the yellow race of the coast of China; Varnhagen holds that the Tapuyas in general are identical with the Mongols of eastern Asia, and Gonçalves Diaz supports this view. St. Hilaire and others have commented on their Mongolic appearance.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, the Captaincies of the Ilhéos¹ and Porto Seguro were thrown into consternation by the Aymorés. Assisted by their kindred, the Abatires and Partaxós, they descended from the *sertão* and made such a determined attack upon the Euro-

¹ This Captaincy commenced at the island of Tinharé, twelve leagues south of Bahia, and extended fifty leagues south along the coast, ending at Porto Seguro, at the Rio de Santa Cruz, at the mouth of which Cabral landed in 1500.

pean settlers and their Indian allies, the Tupiniquins, that they broke through to the sea. They found the Captaincy of Porto Seguro especially inviting, on account of its forests and abundant game. The district was a prosperous one; for the Tupiniquins whom Pedro Alvarez Cabral found there had readily accepted Portuguese rule and enabled their masters to establish large and flourishing sugar estates. But the Aymorés had resolved on a war of extermination, and, by 1587, there remained but one sugar mill in all the Captaincy, which for two centuries afterwards was almost abandoned.

The Aymorés clung tenaciously to the forested, mountainous country extending from the ocean inland to the river Jequitinhona, bounded on the south by the river Doce, and after three hundred years, up to about the middle of the last century, the Portuguese had not completely subjugated them. By 1560, so thoroughly had the Aymorés devastated the country that the Governor, Mem de Sá, took the field against them, and, in two severe combats, reduced many of them to submission. Still they continued their attacks reinforced by fresh hordes from the interior. It was not until 1602 that a sufficient number of them had surrendered to be formed into reservations, in the vicinity of the Serra dos Aymorés which takes its name from them and

which extends from the *Comarco* dos Ilhéos to the river Macacú, and separates the chain from the Serra dos Orgãos; still, from time to time, they continued to inflict serious damages on different parts of the district.

At a later date their reservations, before the introduction of negro slavery into Brazil, were turned into a slave-hunting field by the Portuguese. With sword, fire-arms and bloodhounds, the Indians, their women and, notably, their children were hunted down like wild beasts, and "the better to train the bloodhounds for their work, they were fed on Indians assassinated for the purpose."¹

Only very slowly did the Portuguese gain ground in the rich valley of the Mucury, the productiveness of which attracted the attention of the Capucin fathers of the Missions of Maranhão, although its head waters could only be reached by armed caravans. When bands of adventurers attempted to penetrate the fastnesses of the Serra das Esmeraldas, now known as the Cordillera dos Aymorés, they were driven back by the long and deadly arrows of the Indians. Many such expeditions were defeated so recently as the first half of the nineteenth century.

¹ "Noticia sobre os Selvogens do Mucury," *Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico*, Vol. XXI.

The defence which these formidable savages made of their country recalls the equally long and brilliant war of the Araucanians of southern Chile against the Spaniards and their descendants.

The remnant of the Aymorés now occupy the neighbourhood of the Rio Pardo and the sources of the Belmonte or Jequitinhona, Mucury and a part of the province of Espiritu Santo, wandering in the interior among the forests which border the Rio Doce. They are rarely seen near the coast.

The Tapuyas recognized but one great law, the same *lex talionis* which safeguards the natural rights of the whole of animal creation; and this law, unsoftened by the teachings of civilization, they applied relentlessly.¹

The Tapuya was Nature's spoiled child. There was a wide difference between him and the barbarian of Andean Amazonia, who was obliged, to a much greater degree, to solve the problem of existence by accepting its penalties; for the latter had to devise and carry out a plan having for object the accumulation of food and its proper storage for subsequent apportionment. This involved the exercise of forethought, faith in the result, prudence, self-denial, constancy of purpose

¹ Nature never shows mercy. She will have none of it, and the savage is so *en rapport* with her that he cannot understand the meaning of the word.

and recognition of the rights of all in its just distribution during the non-productive period of the year, when Nature's hand is empty in those bleak regions, and a day-to-day existence impossible. Tropical Nature subjected the Tapuya to none of these exactions and, therefore, never forced him to emerge from his savage condition. She made him simply the dominating animal among other animals on which he fed. Her storehouse was sufficiently stocked with food to supply his daily wants throughout the year. All that she taught him was to develop sufficient intelligence, strength, cunning and skill to kill without being killed; and, in this, she made him marvellously proficient. Had he imitated the Indian of the Andes, she would have destroyed rapidly his store of provisions. He was exactly what Nature intended that he should be in the habitat in which he found himself. The Portuguese considered him to be nothing but a brute beast in human form.¹ Any effort on the part

¹ During the first quarter of a century after the landing of the Portuguese and Spaniards in America, they regarded the Indians as belonging absolutely to the brute creation. Their treatment of them continued to be so increasingly atrocious that the good Friar Domingos Bentancos sent a brother of his order, Friar Domingos Minaja, to Rome to represent to the Pontifical Tribunal the terrible cruelties to which the Indians were subjected. As a result, Pope Paul III issued his famous bull, of June 9, 1537, declaring all the Indians of the New World to be "real men" and

of the missionaries to catechize and civilize him was defeated by his environment, for Nature and he were such good friends that she never worried him about the future. Hence, his savage happiness must have been supreme, and he was never troubled by what Huxley wisely calls "the malady of thought."

For nearly two centuries after the Discovery, general ignorance prevailed regarding the tribes of the interior of Brazil. Any description of those found in the *sertão* by modern explorers has to be very carefully weighed if we desire to reach conclusions of any value for historical purposes. If to the dispersion of the Tapuyas by the inroads of the Caraios we add the perturbations incident to the dislocation of both

capable of receiving the Christian faith; and, "even if they were not of the faith of Christ, they should not be deprived of their liberty, nor ownership of their property, nor be reduced to servitude." It may be said that the *conquistadores* took little heed of this humanitarian papal edict.

This bull somewhat contradicts that of Alexander VI, issued in 1493, immediately after the discovery of America. Of his "own pure will and plenitude of apostolic power" he "conceded and assigned forever to the kings of Castile and Leon and their successors all the islands and mainlands discovered and which may hereafter be discovered towards the west and south, with all their dominions, cities, castles, places and towers, with all their rights, jurisdictions and appurtenances," only reserving lands belonging to any other Christian king or prince. It was in virtue of this bull that all the *Christian* Powers proceeded to plunder the heathen.

Tapuya and Caraio peoples by the raids and conquests of the Portuguese and Spaniards, we may realize the difficulty of defining the territorial area occupied by any one of the Tapuya tribes of the interior in the year 1500. Of course, the present habitat of a few of them, their strength, physical characteristics, language and customs are factors of value in the solution of the problem of ancient tribal importance. In the region lying south of the Amazon river and east of the Madeira there are still to be found remnants of great tribes either of Caraio or Tapuya stock, and others carrying traces of a mixture of these; and, in Matto Grosso, even an infusion of blood from the Pampean races of the northern Gran Chacu of the Argentine Republic.

One of the great southern affluents of the Amazon, the Tapajos,¹ cuts Matto Grosso into two almost equal parts. It was first descended in 1748 by a miner, Sousa de Azevedo, on his way to Para from Matto Grosso.

At a later date the region lying between the Tapajos and the Rio Madeira and the Amazon and Juruena was named, early in the last century, Mundurucania, from its principal occupants, who were a fierce and terrible tribe of nomadic Indians known as the Mundurucús. They made

¹ *Tapajos*, a corruption of *Tapuya-assu*, the *Great Tapuyas*.

such constant and sanguinary war upon the other smaller tribes of the district, the Manés, Parintintins, Muras and Aráras, that, by the end of the seventeenth century, they had almost exterminated them. The Mundurucús, like the Tapajos, and also the Carajás of the Xingu, and the Muras, were of Caraió stock, a remnant of the invasions from Paraguay. By the other tribes the Mundurucús were called *Pay-quicé*, which signifies *decapitators*, on account of the custom which they then had of cutting off the heads of their captives and embalming them in a manner so as to preserve their original features for an interminable period of time—a practice still common to several tribes of the Amazon valley, notably of the Jibarós of Ecuador.

The Parintintins were wild, nomadic cannibals who roamed over the district on the right side of the river Madeira below the fall of San Antonio and extended eastward towards the Tapajos. They were pure-blooded Caraios. Like some of the savages on the lower Rio Negro they made flutes from the tibiæ of their enemies.

The Aráras, who were a terrible fighting tribe of Caraió stock, maintained their supremacy on the lower Madeira even against the Mundurucús.

The Mundurucús also overran a considerable extent of country between the Tapajos and Xingu. In former times they waged a merciless

war with the Apiacós, a Caraio tribe occupying the country about the junction of the river Arinos with the Tapajos.

Towards the middle of the last century, under the influence of the Brazilian authorities, the Mundurucús settled down into *tabas* or villages, and, in 1876, their twenty-one tribal divisions, numbering about fourteen thousand Indians, occupied twenty-one *tabas*.

When Bates¹ visited them about the middle of the last century he noted the same lack of uniformity in the shape of the head and features which he had observed in other Amazon tribes. They only resembled each other in their long, thick, straight, jet-black hair, warm coppery-brown tint of the skin and quiet, rather dull, expression of countenance. He found no head of the Mongolian type, broad with high cheek-bones and oblique eyes, like an occasional example among the canoemen of the river Amazon. They were then the most numerous and formidable surviving tribe of the Amazon region and inhabited the shores of the river Tapajos (chiefly its right bank), from 3° to 7° S. lat., and the interior of the country as far west as the Rio Madeira, but at times they extended their forays as far eastward as the province of Maranhão. They have a tradition

¹ *Op. cit.*

that they and the Mauhés originally formed one tribe. The latter occupy the western side of the Tapajos for some distance above the falls and northward to the side channels of the Amazon behind Villa Nova. They speak an entirely different tongue from the Mundurucús. "The points of resemblance between all the tribes inhabiting the region of the Amazons are so numerous and striking, that, notwithstanding the equally marked points of difference which some of them exhibit, we must conclude that not only the Mundurucús and Mauhés, but all the various peoples had a common origin—that is, they are derived by immigration from one quarter and one stock, the separate tribes subsequently acquiring their peculiarities by long isolation."

One of the most numerous tribes of the *sertão* was the Cahyapós. It included several subtribes—the Gradahús, Gorotirés, Carahós and others—and occupied an extensive district west of the river Araguay, from the forests of the upper Paraná to the margins of the lower Xingu river, including a part of Matto Grosso and Goyaz.

A great island, Tupinambarána, having an area of about one thousand square miles, lies on the south side of the Amazon about eighty miles below the mouth of the river Madeira, and is separated from the mainland to the south by a

labyrinth of streams and natural canals. This island, according to the early historians, was occupied by Tupis or Tupinambós, who, fleeing from the persecutions of the Portuguese of Pernambuco and Bahia in 1560, had crossed the *sertão* and taken refuge there. Southey gives a poetic account of their exodus from the Brazilian coast to the interior, telling how the Indians from eighty-four settlements banded together, marched across South America to the Peruvian Andes where they remained for some time until one of them was punished by a Spaniard for killing a cow. Revolting at this indignity they all emigrated once more, descended the Orellana and established themselves on the island of Tupinambarána. This story is wholly incredible. Bates¹ will not allow even that a compact body of Indians wandered from the sea-coast to the central parts of the Amazon, and believes that "different tribes, having more or less affinity with the Tupis, originally existed in many places on the banks of the Amazons and that they had frequent communication with each other before the time of the Portuguese."

It is probable that the Caraios in their invasions of the Amazon valley by the Madeira river route occupied the island of Tupinambarána centuries before the Portuguese landed in Brazil

¹ *The Naturalist on the River Amazon.*

as it must have afforded them an excellent and comparatively safe resting-place for the recuperation of their warlike expeditions on the way to the sea.

After the Portuguese had founded Belem do Pará (1616) and had driven the French and Dutch from the districts round the mouth of the Amazon, they commenced a war of extermination against the tribes of its lower and middle valley including the Tupinambaránas, sacking and destroying their settlements and putting to the sword all Indians whom they could not enslave. To escape their merciless persecutors, the various tribes split into fragments, and, whenever possible, fled to the desert fastnesses of the interior.

Fronting the Atlantic ocean is a small section of north-eastern Brazil lying between the estuaries of the Amazon and the Tocantins, and insulated from the mainland, on the south-west, by an extremely intricate network of wide and deep natural canals which connect the two great rivers. It is called the island of Marajó, and is about the size of the kingdom of Denmark. Nearly the whole of it is formed from river silt, but stretches of older and higher ground are found on its southern and eastern border resting on rocky reefs. The south-western half is, in general, covered with forested swamps

which are yearly flooded, and which riot in flowering plants and superb tropical vegetation. The remainder of the island is divided between low-lying wooded districts and great, level stretches of open pasture lands, which, although flooded and turned into a labyrinth of lakes during the rainy season, are dry during the remaining months of the year. Countless birds of gorgeous plumage, among them the scarlet ibis and roseate spoonbill, fill the air; myriads of ducks cover the marshes and lakes; jaguars and pumas roam over the meadows and through the jungles; the swampy regions are the home of vast numbers of alligators, and anacondas and other snakes are numerous.

When the Portuguese took possession of the lands round the estuary of the river Tocantins they found them occupied by Tupi tribes and Nu-Arawaks. Certain of the former had been in possession ever since the time of the original Caraio descent of the Tocantins and the Amazon, but the Nu-Arawaks had probably reached the locality from the Guayana frontage of the Caribbean sea. The Tupis also held the maritime belt to the south-east between the Pará river and the Rio Gurupi. There were several tribes occupying Marajó, and they either derived their names from, or gave them to, the principal rivers of the island, such as the Mapuazes,

Andjazes, Mocoões and others. Collectively they were known as Nheengaybas, a name supposed to have been conferred upon them by the Tupinambás. They also possessed the eastern portion of Brazilian Guayana (on the north side of the Amazon), from the river Parú to the sea and to the north as far as the river Oyapoc, although, at some points of the Amazon littoral, there were perhaps tribes of Caraio origin such as the Carai-punas and others. The Nheengaybas were probably more or less mixed with Tupinambás or in friendly alliance with them, especially after the Portuguese invasion.

The great numbers of Tupinambás driven from the Captaincy of Bahia fled to the valleys of the Tapajos, Xingu and Tocantins, and, during the seventeenth century, their settlements were extensively raided by the Portuguese of Pará in quest of slaves. They captured many thousands of Tupinambás and Potigoares and in one year (1670) they enslaved 2,000 of them. The fame of these slave expeditions naturally spread among all of the Indian tribes of whatever nationality, and planted the seeds of revenge, bloodshed and devastation.

Among the tribes of the island of Marajó were the Mamayanazes, who were famous hunters, swimmers and, in common with the Nheengaybas, were expert canoemen. They possessed great

numbers of small craft called *igaras* from which they derived the name of Igaruanas, practically watermen in contradistinction to the tribes of the interior. Many other river tribes fell under this designation according to their skill in managing canoes in travelling, fishing, or on warlike expeditions. Their war-craft were sometimes forty to fifty feet long, made from a single tree-trunk which they hollowed with stone axes and fire. They called them *maracatins*, from the *maraca* which they suspended with cords from a kind of bowsprit. As they paddled the *maracatin* the pebbles in the *maraca* rattled with a loud noise. The Mamayanazes were allies of the Nheengaybas.

The missionary fathers found the Nheengayba dialect one of the most perfect of the languages of the lower Amazon, but quite distinctive from the *lingoa geral*, which, however, all of the Nheengaybas spoke. Of their own tongue they were extremely tenacious and would not allow their women to speak any other "even for annual confession."

In a letter to the King of Portugal, dated Maranhão, 1670, the Jesuit Padre Antonio Vieira gives a graphic account of the defence of their home by the Nheengaybas, and the intelligent and even brilliant tactics, well suited to the character of the country, which they employed in their twenty years' war with the Portuguese :

“At first the Nheengaybas received our conquerors in good friendship, but long experience having proven that the false peace which they offered resulted in declared captivity, they took arms to protect their liberty and commenced war against the Portuguese on all sides. They used light, well-armed canoes, with which they not only impeded but infested the avenues, which, in this land, are all by water, and in which they robbed and killed many Portuguese, even assaulting the Christian Indians in their villages and also killing or taking prisoners those who were nearest to our forts; even the Portuguese themselves in their own houses and estates, of which many are still to be seen unoccupied and deserted, were not safe against the Nheengaybas.” In the war which the government waged against them with all their resources, they found them “unconquerable on account of their daring, caution, astuteness and constancy, and, more than all, the unattackable character of their country, which nature itself fortified and defended; for the island is composed of a confused and intricate labyrinth of rivers and thick forests, the former with a countless number of entrances and outlets and the latter without access or exit, where it is neither possible to look for, nor find, nor follow, nor even see an enemy, the Indians being entrenched in the

jungle, aiming and using their arrows. And that this flying and invisible mode of warfare should cause no disturbance in their villages and among their women and children, the first thing which the Nheengaybas did, when they resolved on war with the Portuguese, was to tear down their houses and build others, widely distributed over great areas of the interior, so that they could not be assaulted together, and that, in case of danger, one might advise the other. In this manner, they spread over the whole island without confining themselves to any part of it, all the forests serving them as walls, the rivers as fosses, the houses as donjons and every Nheengayba as a sentinel."

"All this we gather from the personal observations of Padre João de Souto-Maior, who with Padre Salvador do Valle in the year 1655, navigated and trod these deserts of the Nheengaybas."

Despairing of ever subduing such valiant and intelligent foes, the Portuguese finally availed themselves of the services of the good Padre Vieira, and made peace with them.

CHAPTER V

SOUTH-WESTERN AMAZONIA

WEST of the upper Madeira and its Guaporé branch and south-east of the Rio Madre de Dios, is a portion of Amazonia having an area of about 200,000 square miles. The most eastern foothills of the Andes define its south-western border and its south-eastern one is the low water-divide, the Chiquitos Sierras, between the Madeira and Plata valleys. Besides Chiquitos, its plateau portion comprises a part of the Bolivian Province of Caupolican, and the whole of the present Department of the Beni, which includes the Province of Mojos. It is one of the most interesting sections of South America, not only in a geographical but in an ethnological sense.

But like all of the favoured lands of this earth there were numerous contestants for their possession. Access to them from the east and north was extremely difficult, and, from the lower valley of the Amazon, they could be reached only by ascending the formidable falls of the Madeira or by crossing the great forests of

western Brazil. If any invading Tapuya savage succeeded in his effort, he found himself confronted by the bolder and more virile Caraio tribes from the south, which had pressed northward by comparatively easy routes, probably by way of the Laguna Gaiba, on the upper Paraguay river, and by the northern affluents of this stream.

Whatever information we have of value regarding this area of country is largely confined to the writings of the missionary fathers who during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from the convents of Cuzco, Moquegua, Juli, La Paz and Tarija, found their way down the Andes into the wilds with infinite danger and sacrifice to catechize their savage denizens. Much of what they wrote is buried in the archives of the convents mentioned, as well as in Spain and the Vatican, but much has reached the light, and, supplemented by the accounts of early as well as by more recent explorers, has given us data of considerable value.

It is probable that, for many thousands of years, so favoured a region was the cock-pit of numerous Tapuya and other savages from the upper Amazon, western Brazil and the Plata basin. Such a strife would result in the leaving of a great variety of tribal remnants scattered over its entire area, and a veritable confusion of

tongues. In fact, since the date of the Spanish conquest, these conditions have attracted the attention of missionary, explorer and ethnologist.

Even since the middle of the seventeenth century, the geographical distribution of tribes has greatly varied from time to time; some of them appear to have clung to their lands with great tenacity, but others have been restless and nomadic, probably, in many instances, impelled by the desire to escape from contact with the European settlements and the exactions, oppression and slavery which those who remained in their vicinity invariably suffered.

The country to the west of the river Mamoré, as far as the lower slopes of the Andes, received earlier attention from the Spanish conquerors than that lying to the east of it. The first accounts of the former come to us from the reports of the adventurers who sought to find in its wilds the fabled kingdom of Paytiti and from the writings of the Jesuit and Franciscan friars.

When the Spaniards first descended the eastern slopes of the Andes abreast of Lake Titicaca, they came in contact with the fierce and savage Chunchos—a group of tribes occupying a district called Chunchu lying to the north of Chuquiapo (now La Paz) among the upper tributaries of the Guarayuya (river of the Guarayos), the

Deamanu, Omapalcas or Diabeni, now called the river Beni. The northern limit of their territory was the river Tuiche, an affluent of the Beni from the west. A Jesuit father who penetrated Chunchu in 1594 mentions that its length from north to south was more or less fifteen to twenty leagues, and its width from east to west about forty leagues. He found that, after the death of an old Cacique, the tribes had become much dispersed. In the northern part of their district was one called the Chiriguapunas.¹

The Chunchos as a compact group of people no longer exist, their name has become generalized, and in Peru is now applied to all savage Indians found to the east of the Andes.

It was not until after the expedition of Pedro de Candia, followed by that of Pero Anzuras de Camporedondo, and subsequently by several brave missionary fathers from the Mercedario Convent of Cuzco, all of whom acquired considerable information regarding the upper Madre de Dios and the western part of the valley of the Beni, that the famous Juan Alvarez Maldonado made extensive explorations in these regions which he undertook to conquer in 1567-1569. He marched over a vast area of the country lying to the west of the Rio Beni and south of the Madre de Dios. Among the Indian tribes he

¹ *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias.*

mentions in the account of his expedition¹ are the following :

“Commencing from the Cordillera at the back of Chuquiapu (La Paz) are the Mojos of Yuroma, and, bordering them, the Mojos of Mayaguize; then the provinces of the Mayas and Yuquimonas, and the province of the Pacajes and that of the Yumarinenos, and the province of the Muymas, and that of the Chunchos and Guana-paonas, and that of the Tirinas, and the province of the Cabinas and Coribas, and that of the Chimareras and the Guarayos, and the province of the Marquies—this runs to the province of Paytiti and Corocoros.”

This enumeration would be from south to north as far as the River Madre de Dios. At the head waters of this stream and to the north of it were the Manarios, a numerous tribe having its eastern extension as far as the Rio “Paucarguambo,” probably the Paucartambo. East of this, as far as the Rio “Guariguaca” (the Rio Amigos?) were the Opataries, and then commenced the province of the Capinas and Cavanavas which extended north-east to the province of the Cayanpuxes, its territory running as far as the Rio Beni, at the mouth of the Madre de Dios.

¹ A MS. existing in the *Archivo General de Indias*, and published at Sevilla, 1899, by Luis Ulloa.

“On the south side of the last-named stream, and forty leagues from the Cordillera of Peru, is the province of the Aravaonas, then that of the Toromonas, extending to the country of the Calipas.” Then came the Marupas, who occupied the junction between the Beni and Madre de Dios.

“The Mojos, Pacajas, Yumarinenos, Chunchos, Aravaonas, Toromonas, Celipas, Corivas, Chimaneras, Marupas, Cabinas, Capinas, all these provinces are inhabited by people clothed in cotton, and all having rites and ceremonies like those of the *Yungas*¹ of Peru. Chunchos and Aravaonas, with the others mentioned, wear feathers and make images and things of rich workmanship and very fine clothing.”

“Mojos is a land of gold; the Yumarinenos is a country of gold and silver—a warlike people who defeated the Yuga of Peru.”

“The arms of these tribes were the bow and arrow, clubs, darts and shields ornamented with feathers. Those of the forest fought dispersed, but in squadrons when in open ground. The Corocoros used blow-guns with little poisoned darts. The Pamaynos fought with slings and metal axes.”

Describing this land of plenty, Maldonado gives a long list of vegetables and fruits which the Indians used for food. He also calls attention

¹ *Yungas*, a Quichua word signifying hot, tropical valleys.

to the great quantity of game, large and small, and to the abundance of fish in the rivers.

As early as 1586 Padre Diezo Martinez and another from Santa Cruz de la Sierra entered among the Chiquitos and Mojos; but it was not until January 1692 that the spiritual conquest of Chiquitos was really commenced, and then under Padre José de Arce, who suddenly presented himself in the midst of the Piñocas, a docile agricultural tribe.

Before the Chiquitos tribes were gathered into missions, which were twelve in number, they occupied, principally, the valleys among the Chiquitos sierras between 17° and $18^{\circ} 30'$ S. lat., and the mountain slopes both on the Plata and Amazon side; but scattered over the Chiquitos province were numerous widely separated little family groups living among the forests, each being known according to its habitat or by the name of its Cacique for the time being—thus their names constantly varied. The old missionary fathers describe them as possessing a district two hundred leagues in length from the Chiquitos sierras northward, and one hundred leagues wide,¹ overlooking Santa Cruz de la

¹ Their territory extended north to about 16° S. lat.; beyond that was the country of the Mojos tribes, but it is possible that Padre Fernandez included the latter as a branch of the Chiquitos, with whom they had close affinity in language, appearance and manners.

Sierra on the west and extending to the eastward as far as the Laguna or Morass of Xarayes, a vast region in the upper Paraguay valley which is yearly flooded. D'Orbigny makes the Xarayes Indians a branch of the Chiquitos.

Padre Fernandez¹ found the Chiquitos ingenious, vivacious, intelligent, lovers of the good, not inconstant nor inclined to evil, their features similar to ours and colour olive. After twenty years of age they let their hair grow. The men were nude, but the women wore the *tipoy*, a sleeveless shirt, and the Caciques also used the same garment but shorter. They pierced their ears and lower lip to insert feathers or a tin ornament, and they wore feather belts. They managed arms skilfully and fought with bows and arrows and clubs or *macanas*, and were valorous and warlike. The only government which they respected was the advice of old people. They enslaved their more pacific neighbours. Polygamy was not allowed, but they changed wives at will, and yet the Caciques had two or three wives at once. They played a game like *pelota*, but using only the head.

They recognized no Deity, but evidently believed in a happy hunting ground as they interred the dead with food and bows and arrows. They adored the moon, which they called

¹ *História de las Misiones de los Indios Chiquitos*, 1726.

"Mother," and, in case of an eclipse, made a tremendous noise, shooting a shower of arrows into the sky, to defend it against the dogs which they believed were harassing it and causing it to bleed over its whole body, which was the cause of the eclipse. When it thundered they said that some dead man, living among the stars, was angry.

The Chiquitos built their cabins of straw, with doors so low that they could only be entered by creeping in. Hence, it is said, the Spaniards called the builders of them Chiquitos. The average height of the Chiquitos exceeds that of the Aymara, Quichua and Guarani races, and they have broad shoulders, well-rounded chests, and altogether belie the name of *small men* or *Chiquitos*.¹ D'Orbigny² classified them as of a pale brown colour, more olive than yellow, with rather large, round heads, full face and forehead, the nose slightly flat and short, small, horizontal, vivacious eyes occasionally a little *bridé*, lips thin and beautiful teeth, chin

¹ In an account of a voyage made in 1564 from Paraguay to the Charcas, the writer states that the true name of the Chiquitos is Tobacicoci. This is confirmed by a Jesuit missionary of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 1596, who speaks of the "Tovasicosis Indians, also known as Chiquitos." A third says that, on the Rio Grande, the Chiquitos were called Tapuimiri (*Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, Peru, 1885).

² *L'homme Américain*.

round and short with a thin, straight beard, hair long and glossy. They possessed vivacity, gaiety, goodness, frankness, naïveté, sociability, extreme hospitality and had fondness for dances and games.

North of the Chiquitos tribes and on the great Beni plateau as far west as the Rio Beni, was a multitude of fragments of tribes impossible to classify. They were the despair of the Jesuit fathers of the seventeenth century, who were confounded and defeated to a great extent in their efforts to gather them into *Reductions*, owing to the great variety of languages which they encountered, even at times, among those belonging to the same tribe.

Padre Fernandez¹ complains that, "As regards their language, to understand and learn it many years are insufficient. I do not care to speak on this point, but instead, let a Missionary be heard, who writing in recent years from those missions to a confidential friend, greatly laments that, despite all the application which he devoted to it, he could not learn it. He says, 'Every group of cabins has an absolutely different and difficult language, and, much more than all, that of the Chiquitos, which gives me great pain and discouragement, and it wants but little to persuade myself that I cannot employ my

¹ *Op. cit.*

sufferings and fatigues for the good of this new Christianity, for want of a language. Up to the present, the vocabulary is unfinished, it being still in the C. (*sic*), and there are twenty-five *brochures*. The grammar is terribly difficult, and the art and distinction of the verbs is incredible. . . . In five months that I have been here, I have scarcely learned five conjugations, having worked and sweated night and day. I judge that those who ought to come here should be saints, young and intelligent, for otherwise they will do nothing. Those of other nations cannot learn it, unless when they are children. Padre Pablo Restivo, who, after studying Guarany for a month, could administer our religion, has never dared to preach in all the time that he has been here. Of the oldest fathers, who have been twenty-five years as Missionaries in these Reductions, there is not one who knows the language perfectly, and they say that, at times, the Indians themselves do not understand each other. What shall I say of pronunciation? They throw words out of their mouths four at a time, and as incomprehensible as if nothing was pronounced,” and Fernandez adds, “among these people, at every step, one finds a group of a hundred families having a completely different language from their neighbours, so that there is an incredible variety of tongues . . . and to obviate

this impediment to the Holy Faith, it has been made obligatory that all the Indians learn the Chiquito tongue; which cannot be done further on, for if the nations now undergoing conversion exceed three to four thousand souls, it will be necessary to make a new Reduction, and we shall be obliged to accommodate ourselves to its language; for which the missionaries will require to study, besides the Chiquito tongue, that of the Morotocos, which is spoken by the Zamucos, and that of the Guarayos who speak Guarany."

D'Orbigny finds that the Chiquitos and Mojos tribes have more or less relationship to the Pampean race, but when he hangs his comparisons of them upon a very slender thread, as he often does in his efforts to trace similarity of natural tendencies, physical characteristics, manners and customs and languages, he causes one to doubt the soundness of his conclusions. But even so great a *savant* could not evolve order out of the chaotic mixture of peoples which he found in Chiquitos and Mojos. He confines his accounts of them to the principal tribes, and acknowledges that their subdivisions, all bearing different names, are extraordinarily numerous, and that even the small tribe of the Baures had twenty fractions each possessing a distinctive name. He mentions Padre Equinez as giving the names of some thirty nations in-

habiting the Mojos territory in 1696. It is not therefore surprising that the uncertain and varying lists of tribes recorded by missionaries, *conquistadores* and explorers have contributed to confuse the ethnological problem of the region in question and make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to solve.

No two lists are alike. For instance, let us compare three of them : Padre Fernandez, towards the end of the seventeenth century says, " The number of tribes is very great, for the country of the Manacicas (part of Chiquitos and Mojos) is like a pyramid in shape, extending from south to north at the extremity of which they live, and in the middle of which are other people, as discordant in their idioms as they are similar in their barbaric life. At the base of this pyramid are found, in the east, the Quimomecas, and, in the west, the Tapacurás. . . . Afterwards, to the east, are the Eirinucas, Moposicas, Zibacas, Jurucarecas, Quiviquicas, Cozocas, Subarecas, Ibocicas, Ozonimaaca, Tunumaaca, Zouca, Quitesuca, Osaaca, Matezupinica, Totaica and Quimomeca. On the west are the Zounaaca, Quitemuca, Ovizibica, Beruca, Obariquica, Obobococa, Monocaraca, Quizemaaca, Simomuca, Piquica, Otuquimaaca, Oiutuuca, Bararoca, Quimamaca, Cuzica and Pichazica. These groups and perhaps many more still unknown, are

found at the foot of this pyramid, and from them, towards the northern apex are the Quimiticas, Zouca, Boviruzica, Sepeseca, Otaroso, Tobaizica, Munaisica, Zaruraca, Obisisioca, Baquica, Obobizooça, Sofiaca, Otenenema, Otigoca, Barayzipunoca, Zizooça and Tobazica. On the confines of these are the Zibacas, who, up to the present, have never been assaulted nor robbed by the Mamalucos, who have destroyed and desolated the rest of the country which extends towards the Rio Paraguay."

To the above Fernandez adds a list of many neighbouring tribes.

D'Orbigny gives the following list of the Chiquitos nations in 1830 :—

"Chiquitos, Samucus, Paiconécas, Saravécas, Otukes, Curuminacas, Curavés, Covarécas, Corabécas, Tapiis and Curucanécas."

To Mojos, he assigns the Mojos Baures(d'o), Muchojéonès, Movimasd'o, Canichanas, Itonamas, Chapacuras, Cayuvavas, Pacaguaras and Iténès.

To add to the confusion, the Bolivian Government¹ designates the tribes of Chiquitos as follows :—

"Bororoses, Cayubeos, Curavés, Curucanecas, Curuminacas, Chiquitos, Guanás, Otukes, Paiconocas, Paunacas, Penquies and Potoras; and, for Mojos, the Baures, Canichanas, Cayubabas,

¹ *Geografia de la Republica de Bolivia*, La Paz, 1905.

Chacobos, Chapacuras, Itenes, Itonomas, Mojos, Movimas, Pausernas, Carabecas, Sinabos and Sirionos."

Fray Camposano told Philip II of Spain that "Mojos had 170 provinces with many nations speaking different languages."¹ They wore bands or crowns of silver on their heads like the *llantos* of the Peruvian Indians and painted their bodies red and blue. Through the upper lip and gristle of the nose almost all of them had *tembetas* of silver or tin. They had no government nor rational dogma nor God nor any reward for virtue or chastisement for vice. The most valiant were the most respected and their patience under injuries was only dissimulation for subsequent vengeance. Call him a thousand opprobrious names and the Indian only smiled.

There was no special marriage ceremony. Some had a dozen wives, and, to satisfy honour, they threw bad women into the river tied hands and feet. Very rarely any of them lived to sixty years of age. Nursing children they took pity on and buried with their mothers, and of twins they killed one, the better to sustain the other. They had a god whom they called Uchiabaré. Some worshipped the sun, others the moon or the

¹ *História de la Mision de los Mojos* por Padre Diego Francisco Altamirano de la Compañía de Jesús, La Paz. Original in the Archivo Nacional del Peru, 1625-1715.

stars and they had particular gods according to the variety of their languages.

“During their orgies which lasted for many days they killed and ate each other without respect for relationship, from which has originated the multitude of tribes, for, divided into bands and civil wars they formed separate settlements each with its plaza and place to worship the devil.” For a new war they fasted and remained temperate for a long period of time to make themselves invincible.

Padre Altamirano, as Superior of all of the province of Peru, visited Santa Cruz de la Sierra in the year 1700. He tried to establish schools in Mojos to teach a general language. He found that Baures had 124 Indian settlements, and in about 1708 it had twenty Reductions of 2,000 Indians each. Here and there were little hills on which the settlements were founded, but in the rainy season they were only just out of water and were connected with each other by small canals for canoe communication. The towns, well formed, were built of houses thatched with straw, had comfortable, clean rooms, and were defended by earthworks, trenches and palisades. Drunkenness and idolatry prevailed. The Indians had as many wives as they could support, but they chastised adultery and held honesty in esteem. The men went naked and, at times,

adorned themselves with plumes. They had no political nor moral union among the settlements, there being no superior to govern them, nor judge whom they feared, nor were there any laws to restrain them, nor different classes among the people. They were divided into as many groups as settlements with continuous hatreds, wars and discords in their efforts to steal each other's women. The *Caciques* had no jurisdiction, but some shade of superiority due to their greater valour, and were allowed at will to take women from their husbands without repugnance or resistance. Their wars, which lasted but a short time, were tumultuous, like dog fights, and there were neither requirements nor method of reconciliation, but there was no security even for an hour against invasion, especially when they were drunk, and their only feast was to get the public together and have a grand drunk, on *chicha brava*, for three days and nights. For this orgie they had a great building which contained all the *Chicha* stored in jars. The feast was commenced by the *Cacique* drinking a toast to the devil, to which all the rest responded, then they played their musical instruments and boasted of their warlike deeds, and, animated by different stages of drunkenness, laughed, sang, cried or got furious, and did other things which shame forbids the pen to write. "It is a fact,"

says Altamirano, "exceeding ordinary credulity that, at the end of the feast each one had consumed more than 150 pounds of *chicha*" served by the women in calabashes, as was their duty.

The men do nothing except to build huts, make arms, hunt, fish and make war. The women gather fuel, cook, weave cloth and *hamacs*, cultivate the ground, and care for their children much as animals care for their progeny. Both men and women go naked, but some of the married women dress. They do not realize when they are naked. During war and feasts they adorn themselves with feathers of various colours, and wear two or three rock crystals pendent through the lower lip.¹ They crown themselves with a band of tiger skin. When ill their sorcerers persuade them that a serpent has taken possession of the body and suck the

¹ Keller, when among the Cayowá Indians of the upper Paraná river, mentions the use of the *xerimbitá* among them, and describes it as a cylinder of from twelve to fifteen centimetres in length, made of the transparent yellow resin of the jatahy tree inserted into a thin bamboo tube. It is afterwards polished, pointed at one end and provided with a small horizontal piece at the other which secures it in the perforated under lip. He mentions that 2,500 miles in a straight line to the north-west, at the little hill of Cerrito on the river Mamoré near Exaltacion, three white quartz *xerimbitás* five to six centimetres in length have been found identical with some of the material fished out of the Tibagy branch of the Parunapanema near São Pedro de Alcantara.

infected part, rub green leaves round it and pretend that they have captured the snake.

Each one is buried in his own hut. The only mourning is the cries of his friends (which last several days) who blacken their bodies with the juice of certain plants. Those who do this become his relatives in the next world and those who fail to do it lose their relationship with him. A *Cacique* is mourned in this way by the entire village.

Regarding the Mobimas, Padre Altamirano says that the missionaries first entered their territory in 1693. Their total number of savages was about 20,000, consisting of various tribes. Their territory lay to the north and west of Mojos between the rivers Mamoré and Beni and was traversed by the Aperé and Maniqui rivers. In the rainy season it was entirely inundated. The people were poor, miserable, without government, idolatrous, stolid, drunken, rude and the wildest of their kind.

According to ancient accounts and the more recent observations of d'Orbigny, the Mojos tribes were a robust people of medium height, mild, oval face, short nose, moderately full forehead, mouth not large, with lips somewhat projecting, and horizontal eyes. They were hunters, fishermen and agriculturists.

A marriage lasted as long as the parties could

agree with each other. The husband killed his wife if she miscarried, and also killed his children if twins, saying that only beasts could bear a plurality of offspring. Polygamy was permitted. The women wove the wild cotton of the country, both white and yellow, with much greater skill than the Chiquitos, and their *tipoy*s and *hamacs* were more delicate in texture. The bark of the *figus*, worked until soft and pliable, also served them, as it does to-day, for the *tipoy*. Nearly all the Indians painted the body, and many pierced the lower lip so as to insert a *tembeta*, and the gristle of the nose and the lobes of the ears for feather and other ornaments. The men wore necklaces made from the teeth of their enemies killed in war.

The Mojos tribe was the most numerous of the Mojos group. They are supposed, according to Fernandez, to have been so named by the Spaniards. They occupied a belt of country, between 13° and 16° S. lat., extending west from the Guaporé river to the country of the Yuracaré among the south-western affluents of the Mamoré. They were a kind, genial and social people. Before the conquest they lived in large villages upon the margins of rivers, lakes and marshes, as well as among the forests. They were excellent canoemen and made their craft with fire and stone axes. They delighted in

merrymaking and dancing and were very musical, using the flute of Pan made of bamboo.¹

Occasionally mothers buried their children alive on account of their importunity, and sometimes, when a mother died, her children were buried with her, if too young to dispense with her care.

North of Mojos were the Itonamas, on the lower stretch of the Itonama river. D'Orbigny found them of a very different build from the other Mojos tribes. They had broad shoulders but the rest of the body was thin and slight and the legs were slender. The forehead was small and narrow and the eyes horizontal. They spoke an entirely distinct language. The men, women and children were steeped in vice and the grossest sensuality.

North of the Mojos, south of the Itenes and west of the Itonamas, were the Canichanas. They lived in entrenched settlements from which they raided their enemies' lands. D'Orbigny describes them as more massive than the Mojos and of deeper colour, and having a hard, big head; the face oblong like the Tobas of the Gran Chacu; full, low forehead, large nose, short and

¹ When I was in the Mojos district the Indians, gaily decorated with brilliant feathers, entertained me by playing these enormous instruments, which were sometimes five to six feet long.

flat, big mouth, lips somewhat gross, eyes deep-set, small and inclined, small ears, slight, arched eyebrows, faces sad and repulsive. We are not entirely agreed in this description. Those whom I have seen were certainly no larger than the Mojos. Their faces were not repellent, but not so frank and expressive as those of the Mojos. I once reduced one of my Canichanas from captain to simple paddler of my canoe for losing his head and wrecking me in a cataract. For coolness and skill, he was no match for the brave Mojo Indian whom I then placed in command. The Canichana, like the rest of his tribe, was very fond of alligators—I was not !

In descending the Mamoré river, my canoe, a "*Montaria*," was 24 feet long, 6 feet wide and 2 feet deep. Her displacement was 96 cubic feet, equal to 5,760 pounds. The weight of men, luggage, food and loose fittings may be taken at 2,535 pounds, leaving 3,225 pounds as actual weight of the canoe. The total weight, therefore, was a little less than 3 tons net. She was paddled by six Canichana Indians and six of other Mojos tribes, seated in pairs. Their paddles were of hard, very heavy wood 4 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The blade was oval in shape, 1 foot $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and 6 inches wide. To test her speed I measured a length of 300 feet on a suitable shore. She passed the line of the

stakes in 33 seconds at the ordinary rate of paddling. The current, carefully registered, was 300 feet in 93 seconds. Thus the speed was equivalent to about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour in still water. With the heavy paddles described, my Indians averaged 54 *strokes per minute for hours together, sometimes for ten hours per day*. This gives some idea of the *tremendous endurance* of these people. Against the current, their stroke was 48 per minute.

The Canichanas have the reputation of being the most skilful canoemen among the Mojos tribes. D'Orbigny describes them as having great energy and daring, and for being unscrupulous and taciturn, and of sad, unsociable disposition, and of being brusque and impolite. They made arms and canoes and wore cloth for their *tipoys*, which they also made from the bark of the *ficus*. They stood in great fear of evil spirits. "From colour, form and height, they tend towards the Mojos, but in manners and features they resemble the Tobas and Mbocobis of the Chacu. Their language places them after the Mojos and Chiquitos," and he believes, notwithstanding, that they belong to the Mojos stock. They have some characteristics in common with the Itenes, but they make a bold contrast to the tribes which surround them, who have a remarkable resemblance to each other

in character and physique. It may be suggested that the Canichanas are the remnant of a Tapuya tribe from Brazil, which sought refuge in Mojos from the interminable strife between their race and the Caraios. At all events, they are an anomaly.

In early colonial times a tribe called the *Cayubabas* was to be found to the north of the Mobimas and west of the river Mamoré. They were a pleasant, sociable people, expert hunters and canoemen. Like the Mobimas they were apparently of Mojos stock. It is said that they were once redoubtable warriors, fighting with the lance and bow and arrow.

North of the *Cayubabas*, and holding the confluence of the Mamoré and Beni, was another tribe of Mojos stock, the *Pacaguaras*. The relations of these two tribes were close and friendly, although their languages were different. Both tribes resembled each other in respect to their hospitality and frank, kind natures, although they were bold and enterprising.

The *Itenes* inhabited the district in the forks of the Mamoré and Guaporé rivers, and northward, on the Brazilian side, as far as the first rapid of the Madeira—Guajara-Merim. They were a brave, indomitable people, proud of their independence and preferred death to submission to Spanish or Portuguese rule. They were

bold hunters, expert fishermen and excellent navigators. They understood weaving, and showed great skill in the ornamentation of their bows and arrows and other arms, and the making of feather ornaments for the head. Their women wore the *tipoy*. Their language is generally recognized to be the most euphonious, laconic and sweet of all the tongues of the valley of the upper Madeira, and all their words terminate in vowels. In physique they are like the Mojos, but their manners resemble those of the Canichanas.

D'Orbigny draws attention to the Caraio tribe, the *Guarayos*,¹ whom he found not far from the west bank of the Rio San Miguel, inhabiting the immense forests which separate Chiquitos from Mojos at about 17° S. lat. They occupy about 14,000 square miles of country. The Guarayos still retain the tradition that they came from the south-east and that they were, probably centuries ago, friends of the Chirilwanos, from whom they separated after a series of quarrels. It is, however, certain that they have been in their present habitat since the

¹ Padre Fernandez mentions a tribe of Guarayos who lived on the banks of the river Paraguay near the laguna of Xarayos, and others near the laguna Mamoré, who fled west and north. The latter are perhaps the ancestors of the Guarayos now found between the lower Beni and Madre de Dios.

sixteenth century. They are of a light yellow colour so clear that there is little difference between them and a slightly brown white man. The men generally are taller than the average of the Guarani race, and the women, like the men, are well proportioned. Physically they are robust, of fine bearing, frank and graceful, the body is rounded, the nose short and not wide, and medium mouth. Their eyes, which are not large, are always turned upwards at the outer angle, and are expressive and spiritual, the chin is round, the forehead fairly high, the eyebrows well arched and the hair black, long and glossy. What distinguishes them from other Guaranis is that the men have a long, straight beard covering the chin, the upper lip and part of the sides of the cheeks.

The Guarayos are of Paraguayan origin, they are of pale copper colour or dark brown, of regular features and have the peculiarity, especially the women, of sitting on their feet, which thus become twisted.¹ They are ferocious and valiant, and prefer death rather than to surrender to their enemies. In eastern Bolivia, they are found on the upper Itonama, San Martin and Serre, and they extend towards the Pilcomayo.²

¹ See *Sinopsis Estadística y Geográfica de Bolivia*, tomo 1, by J. T. Camacho.

² It is noted hereafter (p. 118) that the Sirionos purposely bend the feet of children outwards.

“The language of the Guarayos,” says d’Orbigny, “is the Guarani, and we were astonished to find it but little different from that of Paraguay or Corrientes, where we have learned the most usual terms of that tongue.

“The character of these *Guarayos* responds perfectly to their features. It presents the type of goodness, affability, frankness and honesty, hospitality and the pride of the free man who regards all others as beneath him, even the Christians, because he believes them to be slaves who have vices unknown to him—thieving and adultery. Good fathers, good husbands, although grave by habit, they believe themselves in their savage state, in the lap of abundance, the most happy of men.”

In their forest abode they build long spacious cabins of octagonal shape, singularly like those of the Caraïbes of Hayti at the time of the Conquest.¹ They are solidly constructed of wood, and artistically covered with palm leaves.

Their arms are bows six feet long with arrows of four feet, and war clubs with double edges. Their canoes reach thirty feet in length and twenty inches in width. They live by hunting, fishing and agriculture. Polygamy is general among them, and they marry young. They are

¹ A picture of one of these cabins can be seen in Oviedo’s *Historia General de las Indias*.

extremely jealous, and adultery is punished by death of both man and woman. It is for their brothers, not their father, to dispose of them in marriage, which is very simple. He who would marry paints himself from head to feet, and armed with his club promenades for several days round the hut of her whom he would espouse, until on a day of feasting and drinking the marriage is consummated. They never quarrel and differences are rare. The women weave very coarse cotton *hamacs* and costumes, and make pottery to hold fermented drinks. The men go entirely naked, and the women also except a tunic hanging from the waist to half-way down the thigh. Both sexes paint the body black and red with considerable taste. As a distinctive sign of the tribe they wear garters below the knee and beads above the ankle. On fête days the men adorn their heads with turbans made of the most brilliant feathers, and wear ornaments in the nose. The hair is never cut except that of the women across the forehead. A few tattooed lines on the arm and scars under the breast announce puberty among the young girls.

Government is entirely patriarchal; each group of families has its chief, whose functions are hereditary; but although he directs operations in time of war he is only a councillor in time of peace. They have only two severe laws—one

against theft which they abhor, and the other against the adultery of women.

They revere a beneficent being, their *Tamoï* or *Great Father*, whom they love but do not fear. He has lived among them, taught them agriculture. With much ceremony and song they worship him, begging him for abundant crops and fructifying rain. After death, from the summit of a sacred tree which they plant near their cabins, the *Tamoï* takes them to the east, where they return to life and enjoy all they possessed on earth. When they are ill they have recourse to their sorcerers or *Payes*. The dead are interred in their own houses after their bodies are painted as if for a feast. The head is turned to the east; their weapons are burned and with the body are placed in a deep ditch and covered with branches of trees,¹ their parents fast in sign of mourning.

Between the Guapay (Rio Grande) and Piray branches of the river Mamoré is a strip of territory 150 miles long from north-west to south-east with an average width of about twenty-five miles. It is densely forested with great trees

¹ It is remarkable that Oviedo says absolutely the same thing about the ancient inhabitants of Hayti, while his descriptions of the ceremonies of the people of the Antilles are almost in all respects similar to those of the Caraios and their Guarayo kindred—thus confirming the identity of the race.

and a closely packed undergrowth. This area is the home of a Caraio tribe known as the *Sirionos*—indomitable and terrible savages, who, through all the vicissitudes of Spanish rule, have, up to the present day, preserved their independence. They are as fierce and wild as the pumas which share their hunting grounds. At times they extend their excursions as far north as the mouth of the Sécure, affluent of the Mamoré, from which point communication with the Guarayos is not difficult. On the south they have easy contact with their kindred the Chiriguanos. They have occupied the same region certainly since the conquest, and probably migrated from the cradle of their race many centuries ago. They have the same light colour, beautiful proportions and figure of the Guarayos, and their language, although a corrupted form of Guarani, enables them to converse easily with the Chiriguanos.

They live entirely by the chase and have no industry except the making of bows and arrows, both from seven to eight feet in length, and the former requiring great strength to bend it. In fact, to do this, the savage lies down on the ground, places both feet against the bow and draws the cord with both hands, thus launching the arrow with tremendous force. It is his custom to hide in ambush in the jungle and drive

the arrow half of its length through any enemy passing near. I once had occasion to travel 125 miles, more or less, through the dark and forbidding forests of the Sirionos, part of the way on horseback, and it was a peculiar and disagreeable sensation to feel that, at any moment, I might be spitted by one of their death-dealing weapons. A short time previously, on the same route, they had driven seven arrows into a man, simply to rob him of a knife.

I was told by a Bolivian, who lived on the border of their country and knew some of the customs of the Sirionos, that the ankle of each foot is bent outward when they are children, so that they may tread upon the outer edge of the foot, the idea being that the running power is thus increased.

Between Cochabamba and Santa Cruz de la Sierra is a part of the Tunari snowy range, the gigantic northern wall of the Andean *massif*. It overlooks the plains of the Mojos. On its precipitous slope rise numerous sources of the great river Mamoré. Among them are the Sécure, Chumore and Chapare. For about one hundred miles of their course they tear down the mountains through grand tropical forests and deep gorges until they reach the level country, and, thence forward, are navigable to their junction with the parent stream. The dense,

hot and humid forests along the foothills of this region are the habitat of a tribe known as the Yuracarés, who are scattered in small families which apparently seek hiding-places where the vegetation is the thickest. They seem to be a distinctive yet connecting link between the peoples of the plains to the east and north and those of the slopes and foothills of the Andes lying to the north-west of them in the western valley of the river Beni.

The *Yuracarés* were first discovered in 1768. Viedma¹ describes them as of good presence, robust, but very lazy. Both men and women wore *tipoyos* made of bark, but some of cotton. The men, but not the women, wore the hair loose but cut across the forehead just above the eyebrows. Both sexes, more especially the men, wore many bead ornaments round the neck and wrists. Their weapons were the bow and arrow; and "their language was very similar to that of the Mojos."

According to d'Orbigny, the name Yuracarés seems to have been given to them by the Quichuas, and signifies white man, from *yurak* (white) and *kari* (man). Among themselves they have been divided into two hostile tribes, the Solostos (those of the east) and the Mansiños

¹ See account of Francisco de Viedma, Cochabamba, 1878, in *Coleccion de Obras y Documentos* of Pedro de Angelis.

(those of the western mountains). Their colour is almost white in comparison to the Aymarás and Quichuas, and has just a tint of yellow. Many among them have the body covered with large patches almost white, probably the same cutaneous disease which affects many tribes of the upper Amazon valley. They are the tallest of all the mountain peoples, and their women are finely proportioned. Everything about the Yuracarés indicates force and suppleness and they are well set up. Their proud and arrogant gait accords perfectly with their character and the lofty idea which they have of themselves. D'Orbigny writes: "We believe them to be the best made of all the nations we have seen." Their features are very fine and their faces full of vivacity and pride and not wanting in a certain expression of gaiety.

But here the physical characteristics of the man are blemished by the most revolting savagery, for they are haughty, impudent, aggressive and fearless, cruel even among themselves; full of superstitions, they cover themselves with wounds, and martyrize their women and children. They have no parental love and sometimes kill some of their offspring simply to get rid of raising them, or because they think they have too many. They live only in families, and then without mutual regard, each one living only for himself.

When a member of the family dies, they destroy all of his property, abandon his cabin and his grounds and then bury him. This is a remarkable custom of the Yuracarés when it is considered that it is usual among the tribes of Amazonia to equip the defunct with arms and other things for the commencement of his future life.

They decorate their back shirts (*tipouys*) with red and violet lines, straight and curved, but never with figures of plants and animals, and stamp their designs with pieces of sculptured wood, a step in advancement unknown to the Andean peoples, but they have no knowledge of weaving. The women make pottery. They pluck out the eyebrows and paint the face red and black, especially the forehead and nose, and on their feast days wear feather head-dresses; or when on a visit cover the head with the white down of the great harpy which they raise for the purpose. Their knife is hung upon their back hair. Although they have a chief of the family they yield him no obedience and they are entirely without subordination. They neither worship nor respect any divinity and yet are very superstitious, and have a most extensive and complicated mythology. Believing that all things are formed by themselves they owe no thanks to any one for them, and if asked who is their good divinity they show you their bow and

arrows. The Yuracarés of the present day are scarcely the primitive savages which they were a century ago, for their territory has been invaded by the whites, especially from Cochabamba, who have sought to open roads across the Tunari range and down its northern slope to reach and trade with the small towns now scattered over the region of the Mojos.

In studying the Chiquitos and Mojos tribes one must take into consideration that it was long after the discovery of America before their territory was penetrated by the *conquistadores*, the missionary and the slave-hunter,¹ and that

¹ Principal among these were the Mamalucos of the Brazilian province of San Paulo. The old writers picture them in lurid colours. They were the progeny of Indian women by Portuguese, and a great number of outcast Italians, Spanish, Dutch and the scum of all nations. Says Fernandez, "They obeyed the King of Portugal when all went well and God when in extreme need." For 130 years they continued their infamies and destroyed or enslaved hundreds of thousands of Indians, penetrating more than a thousand leagues inland towards the south-western part of Amazonia. In their first raids they destroyed fourteen *Reductions* which the Jesuit fathers had established among the Guaranis, who later on rallied and routed 5,000 of them.

The route to the upper valley of the Rio Paraguay and Chiquitos and Mojos followed by the Mamalucos was by the way of the river Tieté or Anemby, on which stream there was an embarking place called Araraytabuabá distant four or five days' journey from the city of San Paulo. Their expeditions consisted generally of thirty to forty canoes, some of them carrying three and a half tons of cargo. Owing to the reefs and falls in Tieté where it was necessary to unload

our knowledge of them until the middle of the seventeenth century is vague and conflicting. No doubt, they had been profoundly disturbed, especially by what had taken place in the Plata valley. Before they could be carefully studied, their modes of life, habits, tendencies of thought

and carry the goods overland, it took about twenty-five days' hard work to reach the river Paraná. From the mouth of the Tieté, lat. $19^{\circ} 20'$, they went down the Paraná to the Rio Pardo, one of its western branches, and ascending it, with much difficulty, for from forty to fifty days on account of its violent current, arrived at a portage where they transported their canoes overland for a distance of four and a half miles, and then launched them into the little and shallow river Camapuan, at a small Portuguese settlement which supplied carts, animals and food. Descending the Camapuan for three or four days they reached the Cuchuy (or Cachuy), by which, after six days of very difficult navigation they came to the river Tacuary, which has a considerable volume of water and which enters the Paraguay by three mouths at about $19^{\circ} 7'$ S. lat. It took them eight days to descend the Tacuary, by the southern mouth of which they finally found themselves in the great river Paraguay. Ascending this for ten days they reached the Cheané in lat. $18^{\circ} 8'$. It is an arm of the Porrudos from which it branches off six to eight leagues higher up, and to reach the Porrudos it took four days. Going up the latter for four days they entered the Rio Cuyubá, up which after a twelve days' voyage they reached the town of this name. From Cuyabá to the pass of the Rio Paraguay was five days by land and thence to the river Jaurú five days, and a further period of five days to Matto Grosso. Thus from San Paulo to Cuyabá they took from four to five months according to the season, but made the return voyage more rapidly.

From the upper Paraguay river they penetrated Chiquitos and Mojos by several routes.

and religious beliefs had been modified by the rigid rule and teaching of the Jesuit fathers, under which they lost nearly all of the pride, spirit and *élan* of a free life and were obliged to lead a nondescript existence which was neither savage nor civilized. D'Orbigny, could give us not much more than what he learned at the various *Reductions* which he visited—*missions* from which the Jesuit fathers had been expelled more than sixty years previously. He saw but little of the wild tribes of the Beni, Mojos and Caupolican, who declined to bend their knees to any but their own gods.

Even up to forty years ago when I visited some of the Mojos missions, the effect of the Jesuit and subsequently of the Spanish domination was plainly visible on the faces of the Indians—joy had been wrung out of them, they were gloomy, silent and depressed; for, following the government of the Jesuits and their system, the political administrators of the Mojos had left them not a single hope. Life held to their lips nothing but its dregs, and yet, hidden in their hearts, were sentiment and recognition of kindly treatment; for when I bade good-bye to some threescore of them, representatives of different tribes, who had been with me for a couple of months, they stood on the river bank crying like children and sobbing as if their hearts

would burst ¹—and my eyes were not the driest of the company.

An interesting section of country lies between the river Beni and the Madre de Dios, and is roughly limited on the south-west by a line drawn from the mouth of the Tambopata river to where the 14° of latitude crosses longitude 68° west. This region was almost a *terra incognita* until, about forty years ago, a few brave and devoted Franciscan friars from the convent of La Paz penetrated it and learned something of the character of the tribes in its extreme south-western position. After Heath, in a rotten little canoe, made his daring exploration of the lower Beni in 1879–80 the rubber collectors began to occupy this part of the river and to push their settlements up its Madre de Dios branch. This resulted in the complete demoralization of the tribes on the margins of both of these great rivers, the dislocation of many of their sub-divisions, and a general confusion among those which were drawn upon, either through

¹ This experience scarcely confirms the verse of Longfellow describing the Indians :

“As monumental bronze, unchanged his look;
A soul that pity touch'd but never shook;
Trained from his tree-rocked cradle to his bier,
The fierce extreme of good and ill to brook,
Impassive, fearing but the shame of fear,
A stoic of the woods, a man without a tear.”

voluntary enlistment or by force, to enter the service of the collectors of the precious gum. Thus what little knowledge we have of the aborigines of this district a few centuries ago is a scrap obtainable here and there from the accounts of the Spanish *conquistadores* supplemented by recent reports of missionary fathers.

The great dominant tribe of the territory was the Guarayo, centralized in the middle and upper valley of the Rio Modidi branch of the Beni, with nomadic fractions along the banks of the lower part of the river Tambopata and even so far west as the lower third of the Inambari, both affluents of the Madre de Dios. Until recent years, they also occupied the middle section of the latter stream. Their fierce and indomitable character, their knowledge of the bad treatment to which neighbouring tribes have been subjected by the Spaniards and his descendants, have caused them to guard their lands with extreme jealousy and make them difficult to penetrate. In general, it may be said that they occupy the north-western extensions of the table-land of the Beni and that their original relationship and affiliations are to be sought among the Caraio tribes to the south-east of them which several centuries ago threw off fractions into this district which they have held ever since. They also overran the country

between the middle Madre de Dios and the Aquiry branch of the river Purús, coming into touch on the north-east with their kindred the Caraipunás.

Years ago Colonel Labre, *en route* northward from the middle Madre de Dios to the river Aquiry, found in his first day's march a small group of eighteen families of the Guarayo tribe cultivating little patches of ground. They had the same customs and habits as the Araunas. Although they spoke a different dialect they could converse with each other. He crossed the river *Cara-manú* (Abuna) at the "Guarayo crossing," and accompanied by some Guarayos and Pacaguáras arrived at a Guarayo village. It contained many idols, ornaments and weapons and a house of worship with two doors. Afterwards, traversing a country which had many pathways and abandoned Guarayo settlements, he arrived at one with sixty inhabitants. The day following, he passed a large clearing four miles in circumference with two deserted houses in the middle of it and there found two large kettles of burnt clay and many articles of ornament in bags of woven straw. He also met an Indian guarding some *coca* plantations.

When Colonel Labre explored the Ituxy branch of the Purús he found that one of its most numerous tribes were Guarayos. They were

just to the north of the habitat of their cousins the Caraipunas. According to data given to me by Colonel Pedro Suarez, who has travelled much among the tribes of northern Bolivia, the Guarayos whom he has seen have the same practices, customs, economy administration and government as their allies the Pacaguáras. "But little is known about them, but it is believed that they belong to the Caraipuna tribe." They have a temple, in which they keep their idols. It is adorned with plumes, arms, hunting and fishing gear, earthen pots and human and animal faces. The Guarayos and Caraipunas are quite different from the Araunas. They love the water, swim like fish and do not know what fear is. Their frail, light canoes carry but three persons each and look like children's toys; but in them they traverse the river Madeira with all of its falls and rapids. These little craft are made from the bark of the Brazilian nut tree. The head and stern are cleverly gathered up and bound with strong *lianas*, which are found hanging from many forest trees. The character of these savages is quite the opposite of that of the Araunas—they are proud, intrepid and warlike. Their arrows are smaller than those used by the Araunas, whom they persecute and fight to rob them of their women. They sleep in a sort of night-dress of rough calico which they make

from cotton which they grow for clothing and *hamacs*. The latter are made of strings and are very wide.

“The Guarayos¹ and their ethnographic affinities have their origin in Paraguay. They are of pale copper colour or dark brown, and have regular features. A notable peculiarity in them is that they have their feet a little bent in consequence of the custom which they have of sitting on them, and this defect is more pronounced among the women. They are ferocious, valiant and always prefer to die fighting rather than surrender to their enemies.”

The mass of the Caraipunás occupied the middle section of the falls of the river Madeira principally between the mouth of the Rio Beni and the cataract of Theotonio. They extended west and north-west towards the river Purus, but, in connection with their relations the Guarayos to the south-west of them, they dominated at least 60,000 square miles of fine territory.

Colonel Pedro Suarez holds that the Pamas, Pacaguáras, Sinabos and Chacobos belong to the Caraipuna tribe, which numbers perhaps 1,000 families all told. They are fond of agricultural pursuits, and grow maize, sweet-potatoes, sugar-

¹ *Sinopsis Estadística y Geográfica de la Republica de Bolivia*, La Paz, 1903.

cane, pineapples, and have some fruit trees, and prepare mandioca flour. They have many domestic animals and are fond of fishing; but this highly agricultural tendency which they inherit from their Caraio ancestors is more applicable to the Caraipunás who inhabit the high country which stretches eastward from the river Orton to the falls of the Madeira. It is traversed by roads in all directions. In this district the Caripunás have both permanent and temporary habitations. In the first, the tribe congregates during the dry season, but the second are located where abundant game and fish are found. Each of the central villages is composed of more than fifty families with a well-formed trench surrounding the group of huts, and the paths leading to it are well guarded, the same as the entrenched settlements of the Canichanas in Mojos. They also have an enclosed hut in the centre of their villages where their warlike implements are kept, and this contains a great number of arrows and the material for their manufacture. In religious matters they do not seem to be as idolatrous and superstitious as the Araunas, and no objects of a religious character have ever been found in their habitations. Still, they pay respectful worship to the dead, and one of their big barracks is reserved as a sort of burial-place for some of

their brave warriors. Some of the belongings of the defunct are hung over each grave, such as bows, arrows, tambourines and flutes; and, occasionally, skulls of their enemies as trophies. On certain days, only men meet in this burial place and dance over the dead to the accompaniment of melancholy tunes.

All of these savages recognize a *Cacique* or captain of the tribe, and among the Caraipunas the best warrior or hunter is chosen. In their dances and on the eve of battle they adorn their head, arms, breast and legs with bright-coloured feathers. Says Colonel Suarez: "A Caraipuna in his war-dress is really a very imposing person, tall, muscular, well set up and proud. In place of earrings he wears crocodile teeth, and through his nose a small cane with red feathers at each end in the form of a feather duster. His neck and breast are covered with rows of fragrant black seeds, from his shoulders hang feather epaulettes, and the upper part of each arm is tightly bound with black string. His weapons are held in a kind of haversack made of palm leaves and is strapped on his back. From this the protruding arrows can easily be drawn out, but he always carries his bow and six arrows in his hands, and can shoot as many as twenty-five in a minute."

They have three kinds of arrows—one for war,

another for hunting and a third for fishing, each strictly devoted to its own purpose. The arrows which have been shot at them by their enemies they never pick up but tread on them to show their contempt; but their own arrows with which they have killed some of their foes they hang up in their houses as trophies with the blood stains on them, being in this respect much like *civilized* men. Each savage regards his blood-stained weapons with pride, treasures them among his collections and never uses them again, even though they be urgently needed. A Caraipuna who falls in battle is immediately carried to his village and buried.

Keller met some sixty Caraipuna warriors and their families near the Fall of Theotonio. He describes them as strong, well shaped and middle size with long black hair hanging to their shoulders. They wore the curved fore-teeth of the capivara¹ in their ears, and both men and women had little bunches of red feathers in their noses. They waited for him under the shady roof of orchid-covered *figueiras*, inter-

¹ The capivara, a rodent about the size of a half-grown pig, is found on the margins of most Amazonian streams. The teeth, which I have seen the Indians use, are a very hard polished ivory, are about three inches long, and a quarter of an inch thick; they are worn through the lobes of the ears, and prevented from falling out by a string round the end of each and passed under the chin.

spersed with slender palms and magnificent fan-like strelitzas. In the first row stood the *Cacique*, a strongly built, short man, about fifty years of age, shouldering his long bow and two or three arrows. His broad face, framed within thick masses of lank, black hair, was, near his mouth, painted black. Besides a thick cuirass of beads and graceful trinkets in ears and nose, he wore, with the dignity of a king, a beautiful diadem of yellow and red toucan feathers. "With a majestic motion of the head he invited us to follow him, which we did surrounded by a dense crowd of laughing, chattering squaws and children and respectable old men and young warriors. He led us along a narrow but carefully cleaned path bordered by profuse vegetation—tree trunks of gigantic size, graceful palms of every variety, blooming creepers and bromelias, orchids of the strangest forms, and light ferns. The warm sunbeams broke through the dense foliage at intervals, setting off some brilliant flower, some scarlet feather ornament or the white glittering beads on the brown skin of our new friends."

A little more than half a mile from the river was a clearing and three large cabins and a small open shed which evidently served as a meeting place for the men. Their arrow points were of bamboo or hard wood and the sharpened

edges of a river shell which they considered to be quite as effective as a knife. The parliament house contained nothing but some long thin drums, a few pretty baskets of palm leaves with feather ornaments in them and some bows and arrows, the former of the dark wood of the paxiuba-palm and the latter made of the light stems of the uba reed.

They buried their warriors in the cabins in large earthen urns (or *igaçabas*), which being barely covered with earth probably contained only the clean bones of the dead. They had certain sacred musical instruments which they used in their lamentations over the dead and would not part with them like any profane object, thus giving an exhibition of profound sentiment.

CHAPTER V

LOWLAND AMAZONIA

THE thickly forested area of country traversed by the rivers Purús, Juruá and Yavary and numerous intermediate streams of considerable magnitude may be designated as Lowland Amazonia. It was probably the last of the great sections of South America to be populated; for the inland sea which once covered it was only drained when the Amazon river had finally carved its channel to the ocean. It is evident that the tribes of Matto Grosso had no connection across this sea with those of the Andean foothills, and that their habits and modes of life must have differed from them in many respects. Even for thousands of years after the disappearance of the Amazon sea, its streaming bed could not have been an inviting home except for tribes unable to hold their own in the contest for the fairer surrounding regions.

The river margins of the entire district are infested during the day with "piusu" flies, a species of *Trombidium*, which make life almost unbearable, while, from sunset to dawn, vast

and dense clouds of mosquitoes make sleep impossible except under an almost air-tight cotton-cloth screen. To escape these pests the Indians had their *malocas* in the depths of the forests, inland from the river banks.

The area in question, which is twice the size of France, is still largely unexplored, and, in fact, it was almost a *terra incognita* until, in 1864-67, Chandless ascended and mapped its two main rivers, the Purús and Juruá, although Serafim navigated the former 1,300 miles in 1852, and Urbano 1,600 miles in 1860. But little was known regarding the wretched hordes which inhabit the region until the middle of the seventeenth century, and then only of the tribes which were in immediate contact with the missions of the upper Amazon. In the middle of the last century there were but few Indians for the first 300 miles up the Purús, and these belonged to the ill-famed tribe of Muras. At the beginning of the seventeenth century they were a powerful Caraio tribe, portions of which were to be found on the borders of the rivers Trombeta, Negro, Codajaz, and other minor northern affluents of the Amazon, and on the Madeira, Purús, Coary and several smaller southern tributaries. All of their settlements were within easy reach of the Amazon, which they dominated by their canoe expeditions for

a length of several hundred miles. They were also the masters of the wonderful system of natural canals which, west of the river Negro, connect its lower reaches with those of the Yapurá and these again with the Amazon. So late as the end of the eighteenth century it was estimated that the Muras numbered 12,000 warriors. They were robust, strong, of fine bearing, daring and cruel. They used bows nearly nine feet long, which they bent with their feet, thus shooting an arrow with tremendous force. It will be remembered that we found the Sirionos (Caraïos) Indians of the upper Madeira using a similar bow in the same manner.

The Muras were the scourge of all of the Tapuya tribes in contact with them, and they also waged constant war against their brave, haughty and more numerous kinsmen the Mundurucús to the east of the lower reach of the river Madeira. Their hatred of the Portuguese was implacable and justifiable, and for a long term of years they defended their territory against them with heroic valour, at times not only defeating the government forces sent to subdue them, but severely punishing the expeditions of the Portuguese slave-raiders. No Portuguese craft could ascend their portion of the Amazon unless well armed, and even then it was sometimes plundered or driven back, for

the Muras intrepidly faced the musketry fire of their foes.

But such prolonged and merciless warfare, especially with the Mundurucús, so reduced and exhausted the Muras that towards the close of the eighteenth century they yielded to the entreaties of the missionaries, who succeeded, in 1787, in pacifying and reducing them to Christianity.

Marcoy observed that, like the Quichuas of the Andes, the Muras play on a flute with five stops, and by its notes two Indians separated by a river or *igarapé* could carry on a conversation; "but, like the Quichuas, the major key is banished from their melodies. Untutored man has never more than a few sad notes to express happiness and joy."

On the Purús, above the river Jacaré, Chandless found the territory of the Pammarýs, who, with the Juberýs, were subdivisions of the old tribe once called the Purú-purús, confined entirely to the Purús. They spoke the same language and were afflicted with the same repugnant skin disease.¹ Their skill at hunting was inferior.

¹ "The primitive name given to the Purús Indians by the Pammarýs was the *Wainy*, the other savages who inhabited the Purús giving different names according to their dialect. *Purús* comes from *Purú-purú* or 'painted,' or from *Myra-purú*, 'painted people.' In past times the people of the Amazon and Rio Negro so called the savages

They were a waterside people, musical, merry and peaceable, and were good fishermen. When the river was in flood, they retired inland and lived in mat huts on rafts moored in the middle of lakes to escape the terrible pest of mosquitoes.

Five hundred miles up the Purús lived the Cipos, a small friendly tribe. It is notable that they were in constant communication with the savages of the Juruá river, by way of a small branch of the Purús called the Tapána. Between the Purús and Madeira, especially on the rivers Mucurin, Marú and Pacia, were the Catauixis, a fine, handsome people with remarkably clear complexion. They valiantly defended their own, but were otherwise hospitable, peaceable, industrious and fond of agriculture. They made pottery, neatly ornamented with geometrical patterns.

From the Sepatynim branch of the Purús (762 miles up) to the Hyuacú (1,241 miles up) were the Hypurinás, the most numerous and warlike tribe on the river. Along their entire north-western border, two days' march from the Purús, was the territory of the Jamamadi, a land tribe living on small streams only and not using canoes.¹

of the Paymary nation because they were covered with white blotches."—*Lembranças e curiosidades do Valle do Amazonas*, por de Sousa.

¹ As an example of the deadly effect of measles on the Amazon tribes, Steerc, in a visit he made in 1900 to a great

The Hypurinás, however, were both land and river people. They were so fond of war that they frequently challenged those of their own tribe to battle. A few used the *taquára*, an arrow headed with bamboo, naturally poisonous, but more the *curabi*, an unfeathered arrow with poisoned head, notched and half cut through so as to break off in the body. They naturally distrust a stranger, but a few words in their own language act like magic, and if they do not then attack they will not do so afterwards; but this is not so among themselves. They are a clean people, quite contrary to the Pammarý tribe. Polygamy, in most tribes the privilege of the *Caciques*, is general among the Hypurinás. In their wars neither women nor children are spared.

Steere gives us a few of the customs of the Jamamadi; like the neighbouring tribes, they

Jamamadi *maloca*, says that, "only nine months before, it was the home of 130 people and was surrounded by carefully kept fields of corn, sugar-cane and manihot. Then one of the tribe who had been down the Purús brought back measles, and soon they were dying faster than the living could bury them. When the fever and eruption came on, they would bathe in the river, and this seemed to drive the disease to the lungs and throat, and they died of cough. Finally those who could get away deserted the *maloca* and fled to the woods, and many died beside the paths and the streams. . . . After the disease had run its course scarcely 30 were left alive. . . . Since they first came in contact with the rubber gatherers and civilization, about thirty years ago, they have become greatly reduced in numbers."

wear nothing but the *tanga*, which is a little apron of red cotton threads, 3 by 4 inches for the men and 3 by 6 for the women, supported by a bark cord round the loins; but in the case of the women the cord is hidden under a belt of cotton or bark cords about the width of three fingers and coloured red with anatto.

Both sexes pierce the lobes of the ears and the septum of the nose, and the men insert little plugs of reed or resin in their ears. The women use little disks of mother-of-pearl fastened to small cords drawn through the ears and tied behind the head. This is the form of fastening also used by the Caraipunas of the Madeira. Among the Jamamadi the hair is allowed to fall down in front and is cut straight across the forehead two inches above the eyes, but on the temples is cut from the level of the eyes to the ears. Behind, it is cut at the neck. The men have a narrow moustache and a few bristling hairs on the chin. They generally wear a narrow belt of cords with a tassel of feathers or Anta's hoofs at one side. The women ornament themselves with necklaces of monkeys' teeth and bright shells and armlets of beads and bark. On feast days the men wear curious crowns shaped like a hat brim, they are about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and made of palm leaf with warp of bark cord. To the outer edge of this is attached a

fringe of red and black toucan feathers. The top of the head stands up through it. The chiefs are distinguished by crowns made of numerous tassels of red and black toucan feathers fastened by short cords to a narrow band about the head. The snuff-taking habit among them is general, they toast green tobacco-leaves in a clay pot and then spread them on sticks over the fire until perfectly dry. The leaves are then pounded to fine greenish-coloured dust in a heated mortar. The red bark of the root of a certain shrub is then burned and the ashes mixed with the snuff in about equal parts. The snuff is then drawn into the nostrils through a hollow bone about six inches long. They raise corn and manihot, pineapples, bananas and plantains, the pupunga palm, tobacco, sugar-cane and a few other plants. They are great hunters, their weapons being the blowgun and poisoned arrows. The former is made of heavy wood 10 or 12 feet long, round and tapering and covered with rattan and is in every respect like those of the tribes on the Peruvian Amazon. The arrows are needle-like splinters of palm wood. The poison, unlike that of the upper Amazon, is fluid, and is heated until it foams, when the points of the arrows are passed through it and then through the fire to dry. The poison is said to be made only by the chiefs, who keep the formula secret. They

have a counter poison consisting largely of salt. When hunting, they draw a broad band of bark about the body below the ribs. The blowgun is for birds and monkeys and game in the trees, but the bow and arrow for game on the ground.

All of the tribes bury or place some kind of food by the grave of the dead. The Pammarýs also light a fire from time to time over the grave and leave their dead buried, but the Hypurinás disinter the bones, clean them, and have a festival and funeral oration, the orator taking the arm bone and recounting the glorious deeds which the defunct had performed with it. After this the bones are carefully guarded. They also paint themselves, chiefly in black, with the roast, unripe fruit of the genipapa according to individual taste. From the hollow of the hand and through a bone they inhale snuff, but they are more fond of *coca*-“*Ipadu*.” There can be no question but that they are cannibals. Urbano found the Canamary tribe on the river Hyuacú, the upper limit of the Hypurinás—they are an agricultural, pacific people on friendly terms with the latter tribe, with whom they sometimes intermarry. At a point a week’s journey farther up stream an Indian path leads to the river Juruá, supposed to be about ten days’ journey for an Indian family, but only four or five for men alone.

Farther up stream were the Manetenerys, who came eagerly to trade tobacco, balls of cotton, thread, etc., for knives and fishing-hooks. Chandless was struck by the comparative civilization of these Indians so far in the interior, who plant and weave cotton and clothing although cut off from communication with the outer world by naked and suspicious savages. They had probably traded for many years with the Indians of the Juruá, and the part of the tribe farther inland have had or have communication with the Ucayali. The men and women wear the *tipoy*, but the women also have a second one as a petticoat. Both sexes seemed to be on a perfect equality, and the women frequently scold the men and interfere with their trade. They are a waterside tribe, constantly moving up and down stream, although having fixed habitations. Their canoes are heavy, thick-bottomed *ubas*, very hard and admirably made of cedar-wood. Their language is pronounced with remarkable distinctness and is not guttural in the least. All the tribe seemed to know more or less about the Juruá, but only a few about the Ucayali. There was some evidence that the Manetenerys were formerly a tribe of the Ucayali who fled to the east to escape the efforts of an Italian friar, Padre Antonio, to settle them in villages.

Just above the Rixalá branch of the Purús

and 1,618 miles from the mouth of the latter were found the Canamary Indians. They are not a fine-looking tribe nor were they so ill-mannered and demoralized, nor were they thieves like the Manetenerys; but their clothes were the same although not so well woven, and their canoes were not so well made. Properly speaking, they do not belong to the Purús, but to its Curumahá tributary, which is occupied by the mass of the nation. Their language, decidedly guttural, differs from that of the Manetenerys. It may be doubted if these Canamarys have any relationship with the Canamarys of the river Hyuacú.

Above the Canamarys on the Curumahá river are the Cujigenerys, who also wear clothes and are not hostile; but beyond them was supposed to be a naked savage tribe called the Espinós. It is probable that the Canamarys were right when they said that the way to the Ucayali was still further up the Purús. The Canamary chief stated that his tribe were not natives of the Purús, but of a river further to the west. Found no other tribe further up. Elevation of upper Purús about 1,200 feet. The Hypurinás occupy the main branch of the Purús, the Aquiry, for ten days up and above them were the Capéchenes. Urbano describes these as tall, handsome, clear-complexioned and disposed to be hostile.

In an exploration made in 1887 in search of a transitable route between the middle Madre de Dios and the river Aquiry Araúna villages were first met with. The men wore their hair long and plaited like the Chinese, and both sexes wore girdles and petticoats. The explorers, Labre and Mercier, report a rude form of government and worship. Temples with numerous idols of wood and stone were found, and the Pajés were charged with all of the religious ceremonies and duties. The idols were of three kinds, some of them, a yard high, were of the first class, cut from blocks of chonta wood and carved with figures and adorned with beautiful feathers. The second class, called "the guard," were formed of ten lances of the same wood two yards long, well polished and terminating at a point made of another piece of very fine wood. The third class of divinities consisted of many little stones, the origin of which could not be verified. The first idols were gods of the wind, the seasons, the sun and the moon, and among them are many gods for the especial protection of men. Those of little stones are intended to benefit agriculture, maize, yuca, seeds, fruits and the ripening of harvests, but among them are the gods of rain, rivers and lakes. There are also gods for fish and amphibious animals.

Women, because they are considered impure,

are not allowed to take part in the worship or even to enter the temples and see the gods.

Feasts are celebrated with dancing as are also the seasons of planting. On these occasions the Araonas garland themselves with feathers. They play ball, when belting themselves with the bark of a tree, they receive the ball on the belly and, with a strong movement, cause it to rebound.

Further to the north was a tribe of Guarayos, and between them and the Aquiry river was a tribe of the Canamarys. Roads crossed each other in all directions and there were many old abandoned villages and small cultivated fields. It is evident that the country traversed must have been, at one period of time, rather thickly populated.

Entering the Purús from the south at latitude $7^{\circ} 19'$ is the Ituxy, navigable for 370 miles to the falls near the confluence of the rivers Entimary and Huakery. For 200 miles up the Ituxy the banks are generally low and subject to floods, but above that the country is somewhat undulating and drier with a good agricultural soil, although nearly all forested. There are many lakes along the valley of the Ituxy.

Labre, about 1875, estimated that on the Ituxy and its tributaries there were about 8,000 Indians, divided into ten or more tribes, each speaking its own peculiar dialect. They were

subdivided into small villages governed by one, two or more chiefs. The most numerous tribes were the Cachayhary, Canamary, Guarayos, Ipurinan and Huatanary, the Pamanah, the Cathanycy and Hyunah, the last two very reduced, infirm and persecuted by the other tribes. There were also other unknown tribes. According to report the Hyunah were an offshoot of the Ararás, due to the fact that they paint themselves in a similar way. They avoid contact and commerce with other tribes and, by the Pamanahs, are called Hyunah, which means *ferocious people*.

It is probable that the great mass of the Indian population of the Ituxy at that time were to be found on the more elevated ground of the upper half of the river and its affluents.

According to Suarez the Canamarys occupy an extensive region along river margins and have their plantations on the highest ground. Their villages are numerous. They weave good strong cotton cloth which they say lasts twenty years. They worship the sun, and have habits and customs similar to those of the Guarayos, the Pacaguaras and Araunas.

The *Juruá* is a stream similar to the Purús in being very tortuous, and many of its bends, which have been cut off as the river gradually straightens its course, are now lakes or back-

waters of horse-shoe shape. Its volume is about two-thirds that of the Purús, and it is navigable for steamers for several hundred miles up; but, by canoes, its sources may be reached more than eleven hundred miles from its junction with the river Amazon.

The great valley of the Juruá, yearly flooded in most parts to a considerable depth, could never have afforded other than a fishing and hunting ground for wandering bands of savages, whose life must have been largely passed in canoes. Game and fish are very abundant there, and possibly the valley of the Juruá may have served the tribes of the Purús as a hunting field during the rainy season, as communication between the two streams is then very easy and, as we have seen in the case of the Indians of the Purús, is utilized by several routes. A few remnants of old tribes are still found on the Juruá¹—a little horde of Catauixis in about latitude 4° 30', and supposed to have once been more numerous,

¹ About 1870, the Abbé Durand found a tribe there, which he called the Juruás. They were warlike and brave. The women accompanied the men on their expeditions and fought valorously by their side like veritable Amazons. The tribe lived almost wholly on fish, which engendered among them a species of leprosy which covered the body with scales very like those of a fish—a general fish-skin disease like that which afflicts some of the tribes of the river Purús. They allay it by eating sarsaparilla. The Muras, who live on game, do not have it,

is probably an offshoot of the tribe of that name on the Purús. In language they are akin to the Pammarys. In latitude $5^{\circ} 30'$ a single village of Aranas existed about fifty years ago, and near 6° Chandless reported a numerous tribe, the Culinos, extending probably far inland from the right side of the Juruá, not a canoe people. Ten days further up stream were the so-called Conibos, who are the same as the Manetenerys of the Purús, and a week further up the Catuquenas, whose village was a day's journey inland, and said by Chandless to be one of the most widely scattered tribes of the Amazon. They are fine, strong men, and only apron-clad.

The middle Jaruá is separated from the middle Purús by a distance of about 125 miles, this being the shortest distance between the two rivers. The warlike and strong tribes occupying the intervening space are the Culinos of the former stream, the Hypurinas of the latter, and between these two the Jamamadi.

Near 7° S. lat. were a brave people, the Nauas.

Paul Marcoy describes the Jutahy (or Coiari) as having seven tributaries, and as communicating with the Jandiatuba by the sources of the Mutuanateúa, a branch of the latter. Some Umaúa families formerly inhabited the lower Jutahy near the *igarapé* Sapo, its first affluent. Since their dispersion the Marahuas and Hua-

raycus have remained masters throughout its length. Bound in friendship with the Culinos of the Jandiatuba and the Mayorunas of the Yavari these nations made use of the river communications, and where the river terminates they fasten their craft to the bank and go overland.

The river Yavari, Yavary or Yahuari (from the Yahuari palm), known to the savages as the Xiqui, has, since the Treaty of San Ildefonso in 1777, served as the boundary, first between the territories of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal, and afterwards between Peru and Brazil. But little was known about it of scientific value to geography or ethnology until, in accordance with a treaty between the two last-named countries, its exploration was undertaken in August 1866 by a boundary line commission under instructions from the two governments interested.

After ascending the river for two days they came to an old abandoned settlement of Ticuna Indians, where they found but one remaining family.

From right and left innumerable little streams entered the main river from the almost level plains, and countless trunks of trees, snags and other obstacles barred their way, forcing them finally to abandon their large canoes and take

to smaller ones, especially when passing through the country of the Catuquinas savages, where the river was only about sixty feet wide. Having reached a point about 1,000 miles from the mouth of the Yavari, where the river was only about thirty feet wide and twenty inches deep, they were attacked by about a hundred robust, naked, yelling and painted savages, who poured upon them a shower of arrows to which the Secretary of the Brazilian Commission fell a victim, and the Peruvian Secretary received four arrow wounds, one of which made it necessary to amputate his leg. Four other members of the party were wounded. It is notable that the Indian women fought alongside the men, and "launching their poisoned arrows gave to the attack a terrifying character." The Peruvian Secretary, Paz-Soldan, reported that he did not think that the savages were of the Mayoruna¹ tribe only, but probably a mixture of the Conibos and Mayorunas, who inhabit the head-waters of the Yavari. The expedition then retreated, and reached Tabatinga, on the Amazon, after about three months' absence. During the assault of

¹ This tribe generally lives in the depths of the forest and they are not a canoe people; hence it is difficult to understand why they are called Mayoruna—*Mayo*, water or river, and *runa*, man, in the Quichua tongue. The Marahuas of the right bank of the Amazon and in the valley of the Yavari are their kindred.

the savages many of the notes taken by the Commission were lost.

It will thus be evident that to obtain any knowledge of the tribes of the Yavari during colonial times must have been extremely difficult, and, in fact, nothing exists upon which any reliance can be placed. It is believed that for three centuries prior to the exploration above described no adventurer dared ascend the Yavari beyond 5° S. lat. About fifty leagues inland, according to Paul Marcoy, the Yavari has two branches, the Yavari-hassu and the narrower Yavari-mirim. The left bank of the former is inhabited by the Mayoruna and Marahua savages, the right by the Huaraycus¹ and Culinos, all buried in the forests and never appearing on the Amazon. The latter are a small tribe separated into many widely-scattered families. At the time of the Portuguese conquest they inhabited both banks of the Igarapé Comatia, near San Pablo de Olivenca, a town on the south side of the Amazon twenty miles above the river Jandiatuba. They were renowned for their fleetness in the chase and hunted with the speed of bloodhounds.

In the early part of the last century the missionaries learned from the Conibos of the

¹ It is strange to find our old friends the *Guaicurús* of the upper Plata valley with, perhaps, a branch tribe on the Yavari.

Ucayali that a large stream, inhabited by Indians, was to be found immediately to the east and were told that they communicated with them by way of the river Tamaya, but Raimondi believed this to be a mistake, and that, if the Ucayali tribes had relations with the savages of a river further to the east, it must have been with the Juruá. My old friend, Tavares Bastos, recounts ¹ having been told by a Brazilian sub-lieutenant, Borgas, that "after ascending the Juruá for three months in a canoe in 1864 he reached a point a little beyond which his Indian crew told him there was a branch called Taranacá which communicated with the Ucayali above Sarayácu. Several Indians added that they had made this curious voyage, entering the Juruá and coming out into the Ucayali"; but I am inclined to believe that it must have required a short portage to cross the range of hills which, on the east, run parallel to the Ucayali from 7° S. lat., and finally merge into the lofty Andes to the east of Cuzco and lake Titicaca.

The fact is, however, that an easy connection, now in use for trade purposes, exists between the Amuenga branch of the Juruá and the Tamaya branch of the Ucayali at about lat. 9° S.²

¹ In *O Valle do Amazonas*, Rio de Janeiro, 1866.

² The Conibos Indians of the upper Ucayali told Castelnau that to the east five days was a river called the Aruita, which

A better authenticated natural canal unites the head-waters of the Yavari and the Rio Ucayali at about lat. 6° S.¹ On the latter river Herndon employed an old pilot who had passed through this *caño*, called the *Yana Yacu*, in company with a Portuguese. It took them two weeks and they returned by another called the Maquia. The pilot claimed that there was still another called the Yawarangi.

The numerous portages and natural canals, between 6° and 13° S. lat., connecting the Madre de Dios, Purús, Juruá, Yavari, Ucayali and Huallaga, must have served from time immemorial as routes for war and trade between the tribes of Lowland Amazonia and the more advanced ones of the eastern slope of the Andes; and, hereafter, we shall see how important they were as avenues through which to spread over north-eastern South America a knowledge of the power and progress of the Andean races, which, in turn, gained useful information regarding the savage hordes which so constantly

yielded nothing in volume to the Ucayali, and that its banks were inhabited by the Amouncas. It was probably the Juruá.

¹ Raimondi says, "With the object of learning something of the extensive plain between the Ucayali and Huallaga, known as the *Pampa del Sacramento*, we went on foot from Sarayaco to Yanayaco, where we embarked in a canoe and descended the river Chipurana and entered the river Huallaga."

threatened the eastern border of the empire of the Incas.

A line of highlands runs roughly from Borja, near the Pongo de Manseriche, head of navigation of the Amazon, to the Yavari river, crossing the Ucayali at a point about 200 miles up stream from its mouth. It forms the south-west side of a forested region bounded on the north by the Amazon and on the south-east by the Yavari. The great area thus defined may be included in Lowland Amazonia. It is doubtful if its average height exceeded 300 feet above sea-level. It is traversed by the rivers Ucayali and Huallaga, and is furrowed by numerous minor streams. Within its limits are many large and small lakes and immense swamps and marshes. Much of it is subject to minor floods, but during the rainy season vast portions of it are inundated to a considerable depth. It has a hot, humid and unhealthy climate. In the wet season, violent and long-continued storms of rain, accompanied by thunder and lightning, sweep over it, inundating vast areas, and even the fall of dew is copious. Throughout Lowland Amazonia the dry season is from the end of May to the middle of October, when the rainy season is heralded by the distant roll of thunder. In the forests, and especially in the vicinity of the river banks, is an extraordinary abundance of game, large and

small, and numberless monkeys of different species. The rivers teem with fish and huge alligators, while there is an immense variety of birds, many of them of gorgeous plumage. Truly the food-quest of the savage in this region is easy, but he is tormented day and night and bled incessantly by vast swarms of insects of every imaginable kind.

The region above mentioned formed part of Maynas, which, during the first half of the seventeenth century, the Franciscan and Jesuit friars, accompanied at times by a few Spaniards, made heroic efforts to penetrate.¹

The missionaries claimed that Maynas covered an irregular area of territory of the upper Amazon valley. Its north-eastern boundary was the water-divide between the rivers Putumayo and Napo; its eastern one was the Amazon, between the Putumayo and Yavari, and the river Yavari from its mouth to the head of navigation, from

¹ The conquerors of Maynas made beasts of burden of its savage denizens, "took their women from them . . . saying that marriage did not exist among heathen. They gathered them from many districts, seizing and bringing them in great crowds, and divided them among the soldiers and settlers, by whom they are called *pieces*. [I found this word *pieces* still in use in the valleys east of and near Quito in 1880.] This resulted in painful mortality, for within a few days scarcely the tenth part of them remained alive."—*Relación de las Misiones de la Compañía de Jesus en el país de los Maynas*, por el Padre de Figueroa.

which its southern frontier, running westward, cut the rivers Ucayali and Huallaga. From its intersection with the latter stream the boundary, with many deviations, ran north-west to the Pongo de Manseriche, and then, with still greater irregularity, northward and north-westward so as to enclose, in the region in question, the valley of the river Morona, most of that of the Pastaza and the basin of the Napo, except the districts drained by its head-waters.

Maynas was the source of many disputes between the authorities of Peru, New Granada and Quito. Before the promulgation of the *Leyes de Indias* (1680) it was administered from Quito, of the Audencia of which it formed a part; but much contention arose with the Viceroyalty of Peru regarding its southern limits. During the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal, from 1580 to 1640, the Portuguese were active on the Amazon and advanced their settlements to the valley of the Rio Negro, the mouth of the Purús and even as far up the Amazon as the Juruá. After the severance of the union, the Portuguese frequently attacked the Spanish settlements and missions of Maynas.¹

¹ Maynas was first discovered by Captain Alonso Mercadillo in 1538, but he only penetrated its south-western border. At the bloody battle of Salinas in that year, in

The contest waged for possession of the upper Amazon was disastrous to the Indian tribes and

the civil war between Almagro and Pizarro, Mercadillo commanded the cavalry of Hernando Pizarro. The war ended, he was authorized to lead a force into the wilds of Amazonia to conquer the *Chupachos* and *Incaicingas* Indians. Such expeditions gave to the Pizarros, and to their immediate successors, a happy relief from the many rebellious and turbulent spirits whose services they had been obliged to enlist under promises which they were unable to fulfil. It is evident that much care was taken to sift out the worst element for such expeditions and to inflame the minds of the adventurers with the marvels of *El Dorado*, of kingdoms richer than Peru, and of the golden rewards which awaited their prowess, knowing that few of them would ever return to trouble the government of the viceroyalty. Mercadillo led such a horde of desperadoes (185, including *caballeros* and *peones*) into the valley of the Huallaga. His followers mutinied, seized him, and sent him back a prisoner to Peru, but not much information was gained regarding the inhabitants of the region they penetrated. It is uncertain at what point Mercadillo started on his quest of the Huancachupachos or Chupachos, but probably in the vicinity of old Huánuco. Raimondi locates the tribe in the basin of the Huallaga "perhaps near Mayobamba," but their real habitat is very undefined.

The results of Mercadillo's voyage were of doubtful value to geography. He marched into the country to the west of the lower Huallaga and then into the wild, almost intransitable, region to the eastward, until his men, disgusted with his stubborn determination to take no advice, but to persist in his quest of the Incaicingas (two noses), deposed him. Detachments of his expedition examined a considerable length of the Huánuco, Huarixa, Rio de los Motilones Chupachos, or Huallaga, and, according to Antonio Raimondi, the eminent savant, one of Mercadillo's captains, Diogo Nunnes, descended

resulted in much perturbation among them and many changes of habitat.

When New Granada became a viceroyalty in 1718, all of the provinces of Quito were incorporated in it, and although in 1723 it was suppressed it was re-established in 1739. From this time, the Jesuit fathers, until their expulsion from South America (1767-8), redoubled their efforts to gather the Indians into *Reductions*. These were often formed of contingents of savages from widely separate tribes, whether they belonged to the same tribal stock or not; nor was any attention paid to difference in language, culture and customs of the various fragments of tribes thus united.

The first European to descend the Pongo de Manseriche and upper Amazon was Juan de Salinas Loyola. For his many services in the conquest of Peru, this gallant, intelligent officer was granted the right to discover, conquer and govern an immense district, commencing twenty

the Amazon as far as Machiparo. The celebrated Americanist, Jimenez de la Espada, confirms this in an extremely interesting and learned paper published by him in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*, tomo XXXVII.

About the middle of the sixteenth century a disastrous expedition, headed by Gomez Arias de Avila, penetrated the lower valley of the Ucayali river, crossing the Andes from the west in search of the fabled land of Rupa-rupa, its Dorado king, the Omaguas, and Paytiti (Tiger father).

leagues east of Loxa, Zamora and Jaen in the Andencia of Quito. He devoted an ample fortune to his task, founded several historic towns—among them Valladolid, Loyola, Santiago de las Montañas and Santa Maria de Nieve, and then turned his attention to exploration. He equipped an expedition of 250 men, at a cost to himself of 50,000 ducats, and in July, 1557, left Loxa, crossed the mountains and embarked at Santiago on the Rio Santiago, near its mouth, some six weeks later, with fifty-four soldiers of his retinue, leaving the rest of his force at Santiago. Reaching the Marañon he soon found himself in the terrible whirlpools and rapids of the Pongo de Manseriche, from which he emerged with much wreckage and some loss of life. He descended the Marañon to the Ucayali,¹ which he entered at the end of September, 1557, and named it the San Miguel. He ascended it more than 300 leagues. After an absence of two years he returned to Loxa by the same route, reaching that city August 28, 1559, having made one of the most daring voyages of which we have any account in the history of Spanish America. I have not found any mention of it in the accounts which the Jesuit fathers give of their occupation of Maynas in the early part of the seventeenth century. They make it appear that they were

¹ Ucayali, also known as the Paro, Apuparo and Cocama.

the first to reach Maynas by descending the Marañon.

The description which Salinas gives of the tribes he met is extremely interesting and valuable, as, up to the time of his voyage, they had not been harried either by the *conquistadores* or the missionaries.

Near the junction of the Santiago river with the Marañon he found the Cungarapas, speaking a somewhat different tongue from the Indians of Santiago, although they could understand each other. Their country abounded in food of all kinds and fruits and fish. There were a few "sheep" (probably llamas). For clothing they used cotton which they cultivated and wove. They were very domestic and not at all warlike in disposition. Each town had its *cacique* the same as at Santiago, but there was no general chief or ruler.

Descending the river he met savages just below the Pongo de Manseriche of different language and dress from those above the Pongo. They were Capitaconas with such an invention as regards noses not seen in the world. Padre Raimondi (p. 156, *Mis. del Marañon Esp.*) formed a town of these savages in connection with Xebirero *reductions* on south side of the Amazon in about 165°. He calls them Cingacachuscas on account of their splitting the nose to accommo-

date their nose ornaments. Continuing downstream a further twenty-five leagues he reached a province called Maynas, the inhabitants of which were very bright and of fine appearance in comparison with the ordinary people of the Indies. They spoke a different tongue from the tribes further up-stream and were intrepid and bellicose. They dressed in cotton cloth much painted in patterns, wore feathers of all colours with which they trimmed their shields and lances and other arms. Twelve to fifteen leagues further down they reached the mouth of a river (the Pastaza), which he ascended fifty leagues to a laguna called Marcayo, where he found numerous Indians speaking another language, and was hospitably received. They wore cotton clothing much painted. Returning to the Marañon he descended it "200 leagues" further without finding Indians or towns. In this long stretch his expedition suffered many hardships, especially from want of food. Here he came to the mouth of a great river, the Ucayali, which he entered and ascended without finding any Indian settlement until he reached the Benorini tribe one hundred leagues up. Although presenting a warlike front, they soon became pacific. Continuing on he found himself among the *Cocamas* who had large, well-formed towns on the river banks. The people were kindly and well clad

in cotton garments finely painted in elegant patterns. They also wore feathers and adorned themselves with gold and silver ornaments, including plates on their breasts and wrists. Gold and silver beads hung to their noses and ears, and trinkets of silver adorned their heads. They paid great respect to their chiefs. Food of all kinds was abundant, also fruit and many kinds of fish and game. They had earthenware of the best, brighter and more elegant than elsewhere in the world. Their language was different from that of the other tribes he had met. During his entire stay in their province, which occupied seventy leagues of the river, and where he found many towns and populated margins of lagunas, he was entertained with great hospitality.

Fifty leagues beyond, he came to a tribe called the Pariaches, also differing in tongue from the others, and which he found great difficulty in understanding. It was a land of good towns located on the river with inhabitants of pleasant intelligent appearance as well in their costumes as in other things. They wore cotton cloth much painted and worked. Although unfriendly at first, they soon became peaceful and continued so during the stay of the expedition among them. The country was fertile with plenty of food, including fruit and great quantities

of fish. Their land is mountainous and forested; "the humidity is sufficient to create forests, especially as during the rainy season the river leaves its bed and inundates a great part of the land." Salinas had insufficient men to explore inland from the river, but he navigated 300 leagues up until he passed Pariache, and "although in clothing, appearance and sustenance the natives were all one, there was much difference in language, and they could not converse without interpreters. . . . They all wore ornaments of gold and silver brought from elsewhere, there being no precious metals in their country."

Beyond Pariache was another "*province*"¹ speaking another language and differently clothed, very warlike and not so genial. Here Salinas asked the Indians where Tcatara was to be found, about which he had heard along his route. They told him it was Cuzco of Peru, and brought Indians to him who had been there and who gave him a correct description of the city according to their knowledge of it. Many men of his expedition wished to continue on to Cuzco, but the river was rising and the currents were so impetuous that he found it impracticable to navigate further. Retracing his route to San-

¹ It seemed to be the custom among the early explorers and missionary fathers to use the word *province* as synonymous with tribe,

tiago he reached there after an absence of two years to find that he had long been given up as lost or dead.¹

The Missionary Fathers among the tribes of Maynas.

To the missionaries from the convents of Quito and Cuenca we are indebted for extensive information regarding Maynas.

After the foundation of San Francisco de Quito by Almagro, August 28, 1534, a Franciscan convent was established January 25, 1535, and the fathers soon found under their spiritual care some 4,000 Spaniards and 30,000 tributary Indians. Which were the savages may be best judged by the following, from the *Ecclesiastical History of Ecuador*, by the Presbyter Suarez :—

“When the Spaniards failed to find the treasure anticipated in Quito, they commenced to torture and persecute the Indians to make them reveal it. These, to escape torment, invented all kinds of stories of the treasures of El Dorado. Some of them were sentenced to death, notably the famous Rumiñauí and other celebrated *Regulos*. Some they burned to death over a slow fire, or mutilated them horribly, cutting off their ears, noses, hands and feet. They tied others

¹ An account of this remarkable and almost unknown voyage is to be found in vol. iv. of *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*. Publicadas el Ministerio de Fomento, Peru, 1897.

back to back and threw them over precipices or drowned them in rivers: others they shut up in houses to which they set fire and roasted the inmates."

The same author relates that, a few years after the founding of the convent of San Francisco, the Padres succeeded in obtaining a cedula from Charles V granting to the Indian servants of the convent a league of land measured from the back of the edifice towards Pichincha.¹

Later the Padres took into service several Indians who were reduced to poverty and who belonged to the family of the ancient sovereigns of Quito: one was a son of Huayna-Capác, and two were sons of Atahualpa. The name of one of the latter is not known, but the other was called Tupac Atauchi, who was heir to the crown as he was the son of the principal consort of Atahualpa.² They were both very young at the death of their father. Previously the convent is stated to have received Chalcuchima, an uncle of Atahualpa and *Regulo* of the Puruhaes Indians of the province of Chimborazo.

In the latter part of the sixteenth century, the Bishop of Quito ordered a translation of the

¹ In making the ascent of the volcano of Pichincha, I rode over this property and found some parts of it very beautiful.

² He was a son of the Inca Huayna Capac, half-brother of the usurper Atahualpa.—C. R. M.

catechism and confessional to be made into the language called the *Llanos* and *Atallana* common to the provinces of Piura and Trujillo, which then were included in his bishopric. Also into Cañar, spoken in the province of Azuay; into the Puruhaes tongue of Chimborazo, and into the language of the Pastos, as well as that of the Quillancingas, the ancient inhabitants of the northern districts of the province of Imbabura.

The bishop also founded a school, under the Dominican Order at Quito, to teach the Inca tongue as being the most common, and no ecclesiastic could be a curate unless he passed a satisfactory examination in this language. Later, its teaching, at the earnest solicitation of the Jesuits, was transferred to their Order by Philip II, they having become very proficient in it, and the principals in preaching and confessing the Indians. Its teaching was given, about 1602, to the Jesuit seminary of San Luis, and Philip II decreed "that no one should be admitted to the sacred orders, and that no curate of the Indians should be named unless he had previously studied the language for an entire year."

The Jesuits had penetrated to Quito in 1586 from the College founded at Lima in 1567, by Francisco de Borja, and had succeeded in establishing a convent at Quito about 1594. This became famous for the number of missionaries

it sent to the country of the Maynas, the inhabitants of which, as an old Friar says, "the devil had hidden among the forests so that the evangelical light should not penetrate among them."

In 1633, Philip IV authorized the founding of two other Jesuit Colleges, one at Popayan and one at Cuenca. The latter was organized in 1637 and, among the celebrated missionaries it sent forth was the Padre Cristobal de Acuña, whose narrative of his voyage up the Amazon is important.¹ Quichua was also taught at this college as being the tongue best known to the interpreters for communication with the tribes of the Amazon bordering the ancient Inca empire. It appears that none of the Maynas tribes spoke the Inca language.² Cristoval de Saavedra, about the year 1620, wrote to the Council of the Indies that the Maynas Indians "spoke their maternal tongue, which is neither Quichua nor Aymará, and making this known to a Padre of the Company of Jesus who had been in Brazil, he says that 'it is same that the Indians speak there,' " that is the Caraio language, or what was then called the Tupi-Guarani.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the missions of the Huallaga and Ucayali were

¹ A very rare book, translated for the Hakluyt Society in 1860 by Sir Clements Markham.

² *Misiones del Marañon Espanol*. Padre Lucas could not converse with the Jeveros, because he only spoke Inca,

under charge of the Franciscan friars of the convent of Ocopa,¹ situated in the valley of Jauja, a little to the south-east of the town of that name. The Ocopa friars unsuccessfully petitioned the then Viceroy to build a fort at the confluence of the rivers Poguso and Mayro the better to protect their labours. They were granted a yearly subsidy of \$10,000 in aid of their monastery. From the several convents of Popayan, Quito, Cuenca, Ocopa and some centres outside the limits of Amazonia, many zealous missionaries with very scanty means and armed only with the courage of their religion, plunged into the wilds of the Amazon. The history of their efforts, however well intended, is one long record of disaster, suffering, demoralization and almost annihilation of the tribes or portions of tribes which submitted to be gathered into *missions*.

¹ In 1725, this convent, known as Santa Rosa de Ocopa, was founded as an *hospicio de misioneros*, in the valley of Jauja in the little annex to a chapel. By persistent efforts the Friars of the order succeeded in 1734 in obtaining a royal cedula, authorizing them to build a college, and such was their zeal that, twenty years after, Ocopa was counted as one of the finest in the Viceroyalty. It was erected into a College of *Propaganda Fide* in 1757-8 by a bull of Pope Clement XIII and a cedula of Ferdinand VI. The missionaries afterwards had four hospices in the Archbishopric of Lima—as follows, Lima, Huaylas, Huaman and Vitoc, occupied by members of the order who were engaged in the conversion of the Indians within their jurisdiction.

The Marques de Castel Fuerte¹ remarks as to the efforts of the missionaries: "The preaching of the Evangel would be concluded by now, or very advanced, if, in the *Montañas*, an invincible obstacle to its progress had not been met, these *Montañas* being a vegetable hell, which holds its own against heaven; thus, in this America, the forests are called which run from south to north and divide the Orient from the Occident. They are, in opposition to Nature and reason, as productive of abundance as they are rude."

"The Indians had a deadly hatred for the Spaniards, those who went about desolating their provinces. For them, the Christian religion was that of their oppressors. If the missionaries preached to them the practice of Christian virtues, the licentious life of the *conquistadores*, who professed the same religious beliefs, destroyed all their teachings. Christianity was announced to the Indians with the clang of arms and the thunder of battle, and to their minds it was linked with the sad memories of the disappearance of their empires and the tragic death of their monarchs—the loss of their country and even of their own language. . . . How could the unfortunate Indians love the religion of those who tore their women from them, loaded them

¹ *Memorias de los Vireyes*, Vol. III,

with chains, or forced them to be torn in pieces by bloodhounds ? ”¹

The devout, brave and frequently well-educated friars did not fail to note in their extensive writings much of value regarding the culture, habits, customs, language and appearance of the indigenous peoples whom they met. Rude, vague and confused as their accounts sometimes are, it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, without them to judge of the position which the various races occupied in the upper valley of the Amazon in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

To describe the tribes which inhabited the triangular section of Maynas (lying south of the Amazon and west of the Yavari river) during the first two centuries of the Spanish Conquest, is an impossible task. The region, prior to the date of the Discovery, had long been in dispute between the Incas and its various savage peoples who constantly threatened the imperial frontier. Hordes of fierce Jibaros had possessed themselves of the greater part of the lands lying west of the Huallaga, and north-east of the foothills of the Andes as far as the Amazon river. But the great disturbing factor had been the Caraïbes, who had conquered nearly the entire country on the northern side of the Amazon, from the Rio Negro river to the slopes of the

¹ Suarez : *His. Ecles. del Ecuador*,

Ecuadorian Andes, and had, it is believed, even penetrated northern Peru by way of the Pongo de Manseriche,¹ and had found the Huallaga and Ucayali easy avenues to the Incarial outposts.

With the advent of the Spanish missionaries and the *conquistadores*, new elements of confusion appeared. To escape their persecutions, the savages often changed their habitat, and, in one instance, the Cocamillas of the Huallaga fled to their kindred, the Cocamas on the Ucayali. The missionaries gathered fragments of various tribes into their *Reductions*, and, for the purpose of instructing their catechumens, obliged them all to learn and use the same language, while, in a few generations, the various tribal types which had been assembled in any single mission, became merged, and a new tribe evolved often taking the name of the mission, as was notably the case in other parts of South America where the Jesuit fathers established themselves.

Occupying the lower Huallaga and extending eastward along the southern side of the Amazon were two numerous nations, the Aguanas and Mayorunas. The latter, of Caraio stock, also held the great district from the Amazon, and lower

¹ Jimenez de la Espada remarks that the Pongo de Manseriche was "undoubtedly the door by which the Carib race entered Peru."—*Relac. Geo. of Peru*. C. VII. Vol. 4.

Ucayali south-east to the river Yavari. The Spaniards called them the *Barbudos*, as some of them had beards,¹ due, perhaps, to their descent from the Spaniards of the expedition of Pedro de Ursua, during its long detention on the Ucayali in 1560.

It seems that they lapped round the Cocamas to the south and extended to within easy reach of the Huallaga, to the south of the Cocamillas. At times they advanced to the margin of this river to trade with the other Indians, whom they called with their musical instruments, and who approached the river bank in canoes without daring to land. Armed and ready for an attack, they exchanged goods from the points of their arrows and lances. Sometimes they terminated their bartering by showers of arrows and *chinganazos*.²

The tribes of the Huallaga dared not navigate the Mayoruna side of the river, nor enter the territory occupied by the Mayorunas, who were so fierce in war that eight or nine of them con-

¹ To suppose that this was applicable to more than a very few of them would be a mistake, and if any of them really had beards they were certainly not pure-blooded Mayorunas.

² The *chingana* was a kind of lance used by most of the tribes of the region. It has a dart about a foot long like a pointed tongue, sharp on both sides. It is made of cane and the point hardened by fire. It inflicted a terrible wound.

fronted even a squadron of Spanish soldiers from Moyabamba, who entered their territory armed with arquebuses. The handful of savages would neither fly nor yield, and were nearly all killed. For a long period of time it was impossible to have pacific communication with the Mayorunas, and no one knew what language they spoke; but finally a missionary, Padre Raymundo, discovered that they spoke the same tongue as a nation that lived on the Ucayali with the *Cocamas*. He penetrated their lands in 1654, and found their language was the same as that of the Chipeo, Cheteo and Capanagua tribes.

Padre Raymundo found that the men and women went naked, that they had fine faces, many of them were as white as *mestizos*, especially in childhood "before they were toasted by the sun." Many of the men had stiff, disorderly beards, sometimes very thick. Figueroa gives an account of their cannibalistic tastes, and it was the custom to eat all of their relatives after death served in the most revolting manner. He also states that "their language is spoken by the Omaguas, the Parianas and Yetes of the Rio de Quito (the Napo), and even in Santiago the Jibitaonas speak it. In time the *lingoa geral* of the Incas will be introduced as has happened in Maynas, Jibaros and Paranapura; and this

is important, because it is better suited to the capacity of these Indians, sticks to them better, and they speak it with greater facility.”

South of the Mayorunas on the west side of the Ucayali, and roughly 150 miles up stream, were the Cocamas, occupying a country subject to yearly inundations. Their tribal affiliations extended westward on the same parallel of latitude as far as the Cocamillas of the Huallaga. They were the corsairs of the upper Amazon, which they probably reached by the natural canals which connect it with the Ucayali. They equipped great war expeditions of from forty to sixty large canoes, which they managed with extreme dexterity. They were head-hunters, and their favourite campaigning grounds were between the mouth of the river Pastosa and the Huallaga. They were a scourge to other tribes, whom they almost destroyed by repeated massacres. It was near the junction of the Apena with the Huallaga that the celebrated missionary, Father Francisco de Figueroa,¹ was killed by the *Cocamas* about 1670. They cut him limb from limb until he died.

The Gran Cocama was penetrated by mission-

¹ In 1661 this earnest missionary gave an interesting account of the missions of the Marañon. See *Relación de las Misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el país de los Maynas, por el P. Francisco de Figueroa*, Madrid, 1904.

aries from Borja in 1644, accompanied by twenty-five soldiers and friendly Jibaros, Maynas and Cocamillas.

The Aguanas, like the Mayorunas, were on the eastern side of the Huallaga, but occupied the country for about ninety miles above the junction of that stream with the Amazon. They were of irreproachable valour, and guarded their lands with the same fierce jealousy as their Mayoruna neighbours. Figueroa recounts that Governor Diego Vaca dared not penetrate their country with sixty Spanish soldiers and a large contingent of Indians. It was discovered about 1653 that the Aguanas spoke the same tongue as the Cutinanas and Maparinas of the Huallaga.

Padre Lucas de la Cueva, who visited them, found them living in large *malocas*, and sleeping in *hamacs*. One *maloca* alone had 180 *hamacs*, and in others he counted 40 to 60. Wife, husband and child occupied the same *hamac* with a small fire on the ground near their feet. They were free from *sarna*. The women wore a little short frock from the waist, and the men a shorter one curiously woven.

The names of many other minor "tribes" found in the region between the Yavari and Pongo de Manseriche adorn the works of the missionary fathers; but, with rare exceptions, they are meaningless, and only survived until

some new explorer rechristened them, raising to tribal dignity a kaleidoscopic list of hordes which never had a name. As an indication of the condition of the missionary mind at that period it is curious to cite the words of the devoted Padre Figueroa regarding epidemics among the savages :

“Two-thirds of all the Indians die from diseases contracted from the Spaniards. Only God knows the occult reasons of divine providence that when the Evangel enters their houses the result is so many pests and mortality. Only a few can be conjectured, such as that his Divine Majesty, at such a time, sends pests and death as a chastisement for the slaughter of men and other past sins of the nation, selecting certain predestined ones for baptism during the application of divine justice.”

There are, to-day, but few of the once powerful tribe of Mayorunas left. Paul Marcoy, in 1875, estimated the number at only 500.

The missionaries of the seventeenth century picture the Jibaros (Xeveros) as superior in many respects to their neighbours. They were constant in work, faithful, valiant and alert, obedient and bravely faced danger and resisted to the death rather than submit to an enemy. The women were skilful in making pottery, dishes and jars of all sizes. The men made

beautiful blowguns much appreciated by other tribes, especially for hunting purposes, for by a breath they silently wounded the game and could kill an entire flock of turkeys one at a time. They also wove baskets.

In the course of many centuries the valleys of the Ucayali, Huallaga and Marañon must have seen many changes among the peoples who have occupied them. Prior to the founding of the Inca empire, we must recognize as heretofore stated that modifications of climate made it necessary for portions of the inter-Andean population to seek sustenance in the fertile regions of the Amazon slope. These also served as a refuge for large numbers of Indians during the Spanish invasion and occupation of Peru. But they were not only inviting to the mountain tribes, but also to the savage hordes which constantly pushed up the Amazon, more especially when under pressure from wave after wave of Caraio invaders determined to share in the gifts which nature there had distributed with lavish prodigality. Hence, particularly in the valleys of the Ucayali, Huallaga and Marañon, the culture, habits and customs of the tribes and their ethnological characteristics in general present many varieties and partake, on the one hand, of the barbaric advancement of the Andean races, and, on the other, of the savagery of Tapuya and Caraio stock of lower Amazonia.

What is true of the north-eastern region of Peru is also applicable in general to the south-eastern one and of the upper waters of the rivers Madre de Dios and the Beni, which also form a part of the long belt of country occupied by the Orient-Andean tribes which for thousands of years served as a buffer between the barbarians of the cordilleras of the Andes and the savages of lowland South America.

The Orient-Andean tribes have been much disturbed in very recent times by the rubber collectors, who have made their territory a recruiting ground for labourers under a form of service but little better, and, in some cases, worse, than the *mita* and *encomienda* system of Spanish colonial days, so that the greed of commerce is rapidly *civilizing* them off the face of the earth, and in several cases it has not taken more than ten or fifteen years almost to obliterate some small tribes and leave nothing but a trace of their existence. Truly, aboriginal man, in the New World, has not derived much happiness and no benefit from the rule of his *Christian* conqueror.

Since the advent of the rubber collector the perturbations among the Orient-Andean tribes have been such that an ethnological study of them as they are to-day can give but little satisfaction; and, therefore, it is better so far as

possible to learn what we can of their condition not later than 1880, unless it be of tribes which have until very recently had but slight contact with the white man.

The tribes of the Ucayali, about the year mentioned, may be located as follows :—

Cocamas : west of the mouth of the Ucayali and south of the Amazon, and extending west to the *Cocarnillas* and south to lat. $5^{\circ} 25'$ S. to contact with the *Omaguas*.

Borgenos : on the eastern bank of the Ucayali, facing the *Cocamas*, and between the rivers Supia and Tapiche, about 5° S. lat.

Mayorunas (*mayu*, river, and *runa*, man in Quichua) : east of the lower Ucayali; the *Borgeños* east side of river Tapiche and south side of Amazon to the river Yavari, and south as far as 6° S. lat.

Conibos : between 5° and 6° S., occupying both banks of the Ucayali.

Capanguas : between the *Conibos* and the river Tapiche, which enters the Ucayali from the east and runs nearly north and south.

Omaguas : west of the *Conibos* and south of the *Cocamas* as far as the east and west stretch of the Ucayali.

Pirros : in a small bend on east side of the Ucayali and in lat. about $5^{\circ} 50'$.

Setevos : both banks of the Ucayali from

the Cunibos 6° S. lat., and as far south as 7° .

Panos and Omaguas : both sides of the Ucayali for a few miles, at about $6^{\circ} 20'$ S. They are in a missionary *reduction*.

Cumbassa and Chayavitas : a *reduction* on a small western affluent of the Ucayali at about $6^{\circ} 30'$ S.

Yurimaguas : a little *reduction* on the east side of the Ucayali at about lat. $6^{\circ} 40'$.

Sensevos : east of the *Yurimaguas*.

Omaguas : a *reduction* at Sarayacu (river of maize) on the western side of the Ucayali from the *Yurimaguas*.

Conibos : between two small affluents of the Ucayali (the Inahualla and Cuschabatai) at about lat. $6^{\circ} 50'$.

Pirros : south-west of the *Conibos*, between the same small rivers just mentioned.

Conibos : along west bank of the Ucayali from lat. 7° to $7^{\circ} 30'$.

Sipibos : south of the *Conibos* on both sides of the Ucayali from lat. $7^{\circ} 30'$ to $8^{\circ} 30'$, and extend to the cordillera of the Huallaga.

Cashibos :¹ between 8° and 9° and occupying

¹ The *Cashibos* are cannibals and constantly at war to procure human flesh; they are generally known as the *Cara-pachos*. They kill and eat their old people, who look upon a natural death as the greatest of misfortunes. They speak the same

the mid-region between the Ucayali and Huallaga and north-west of the middle Pachitea.¹

Remos : between lat. 7° and $8^{\circ} 40'$, about fifty miles east of the Ucayali among the head-waters of the rivers Roabulla, Tachitetcá and other small affluents of the Ucayali.

Cumbassa : a *reduction* on the east side of the Ucayali along the north side of the little river Callerria, about lat. 8° .

Amahuacas : along the head-waters of numerous small affluents of the Ucayali from the east. They lie east of the *Conibos* from lat. $8^{\circ} 30'$ to 11° .²

Conibos : from lat. $8^{\circ} 30'$ to 10° on both sides of the Ucayali.

Pirros : between lat. 10° and 11° on both sides of the Ucayali and on either side of the lower Urubamba.

language as the Panos, which seems to be general in a great part of this region.

¹ These wild savages belong to the Pano nation, and once held both banks of the Pachitea, but the remnants of them, hunted by their kindred the Conibos, Sipibos and Setebos, have their stronghold in the forested region between the rivers Aguaitea and Pisqui in a part of the Pampa del Sacramento. Some of their sub-tribes are found at the head-waters of the Pachitea.

² Castelnau calls them *Amouacas* or *Amojuacas*, and says they live three journeys to the east of the Ucayali on the river Tawaya, by which communication takes place between the Ucayali and Yayari,

Chontaquiros :¹ the *Urubamba*, its Mishagua branch, the divide between it and the Madre de Dios and a part of the upper waters of the latter and the "Isthmus Fiscarrala."

Campas : a large tribe south of the *Pirros* Indians between the Apurimac and Quillabamba,

¹ Castelnau calls these Indians the Chuntaquiros and says that they are known on the lower river Urubamba as Pirros. The Antis or Campas Indians call them Sinirenchis. "The study of Indian tribes is rendered very difficult by the confusion of their names; the same people are almost always designated by each neighbouring tribe by a different appellation." This confirms what has been stated in our remarks on the tribes of the Plata region.

"The *Impéténérés* live far inland from the right side of the lower Urubamba, to which they descend once a year to get stones to make hatchets and knives. They say that they have no *caillon* in their country, and do not know the use of iron." (1846) p. 346: "Junction of Ucayali and Urubamba 240 metres above sea-level," mouth of Pachitea 152 metres. The Chuntaquiros call the Ucayali the *Yamini*.

The divers people of the Ucayali all wear the same costume—a long open robe. It is extremely difficult to distinguish any difference among these people. Bracelets formed of a multitude of teeth of monkeys. They also make very pretty pottery, generally of dark red colour, and ornamented with patterns of lozenges white and black.

A missionary who had travelled throughout the Ucayali and east of it said that the Paucartambo flowed parallel to the Urubamba but did not join it. He said that the *Impéténérés* of the Chuntaquiros were the same as the *Amouacas* of the Sepibos, and he called them the *Apouacas*.

In general the Antis smear themselves with red, the Chuntaquiros black. The Conibos are known by the deformity of their heads, are fond of glass ornaments and little silver ornaments, little collars and earrings.

and on both sides of these streams nearly as far south as Cuzco. They also occupy the whole of the Gran Pajonal in about $10^{\circ} 40'$ S. lat., and 40 kil. west of the junction of Ucayali and Quillabamba rivers, and between it and the upper Pachitea.

Fr. Gabriel Sala (1897) describes the Gran Pajonal as a uniform table-land 1500 metres above sea-level, entirely surrounded by rough mountains, 2000 to 2500 metres high. Its greatest diameter is 25 kil. and it is crossed by pathways in all directions. "The *Campas* are a great tribe not yet deceived, exploited and subjugated by the rubber collectors."

Sala met a horde of Conibos, more than thirty in number. The children at the breast had the forehead flattened between two boards, and the Indians said, "We, the Cashivos and Conibos, think it very pretty." He measured from the point of the chin to the roots of the hair eight inches on a child four months old, and from the occiput to the forehead only four inches. All their pottery and vestments were ornamented with rectilinear figures, distinguishing the tribe. Their singing was sad and monotonous. The good Friar naïvely explains the missionary method of converting an Indian to the true faith :

"Among our Indians, not only of the sierras but of the forests, one must bend their will even

though it be by thrashing them with the lash, so that sooner or later they are taught and their understanding opens. This practice was followed in the time of the Viceroys and is now the rule at some points on the Ucayali."

The Mayorunas as late as 1852 had to defend themselves occasionally against the Cocamas of Nauta, who are great fishermen and boatmen and who crossed from the north side of the Amazon into the Mayoruna country to take home prisoners, generally children. The Mayorunas retaliated whenever opportunity offered.

Herndon met a Conibo dandy with his wife and two children on the lower Ucayali. "He was painted with a broad stripe of red under each eye; three narrow stripes of blue were carried from one ear, across the upper lip, to the other—the two lower stripes plain and the upper one bordered with figures. The lower jaw and chin were painted with a blue chain-work of figures something resembling Chinese figures. Around his neck was a broad tight necklace of black and white beads, with a breast-plate of the same hanging from it and partly concealed by the long gown or *cushma*. His wrists were also adorned with wide bracelets of white beads, and above these a bracelet of lizard skins set round with monkeys' teeth. He wore a little silver shield hanging from his nose, and a narrow, thin

plate of silver shaped like a paddle two and a half inches long thrust through a hole in the lower lip and hanging on the chin. He had been to Cuzco, where he got his silver ornaments, and said it was a journey of four moons."

"The Conibos, Shipebos, Setebos, Pirros, Remos and Amajuacas are the vagabonds of the Ucayali, wandering from place to place and settling where they take a fancy. They are great boatmen and fishermen."

Paul Marcoy describes his first meeting with a band of *Chontaquiros*: "They were athletic, wide-awake fellows. The sac they wore was shorter than that of the Antis (Campos), while their heads were hooded with a sort of cowl which preserved both the head and shoulders from the sun. Their faces were striped with black lines, their eyes encircled with red paint in the fashion of spectacles, besides which their hands and arms up to the elbow, as well as their feet and legs as high as the knee, were decorated with a coat of black paint obtained from the fruit of the *genipahua*."

Regarding the Campos Indians of the Tambo branch of the Ucayali, the engineer Cipriani in a report published in a Boletín of the Peruvian Ministerio de Fomento, 1905, says: "They are numerous, and although they belong to a single tribe they are divided into two fractions, the

Cara-biris and the Cara-guas, who are the most numerous, and who occupy a grand region on the right margin of the Pampa Hermosa. These fractions profess irreconcilable hatred for each other and frequently engage in mortal strife."

Marcosy remarks of the Cocamas whom he found near the mouth of the Ucayali that, like the Jibaros, they came from the equatorial country, having descended the Morona, Pastaza and Chambira, which flow into the upper Marañon from the north, and that they settled round the lakes Sapota and Pucata in the Pampa del Sacramento which commences on the north side of the river Pachitea; whence, a little later, they removed to the Huallaga missions. There the crossing of their race with the Balzanos and Cumbazas rapidly modified the original type. None exist now in the wild state, but "have a gloss of civilization like garlic on the bread of the mechanic."

When the mission of Omaguas, founded on the right bank of the upper Marañon in 1697, was abandoned, a portion of its inhabitants ascended the Huallaga and settled in the Christian village of Cocamas, and later emigrated with these to the Pampa del Sacramento. The fusion of the two tribes caused a modification in the original type of each, and, as Marcosy has said, there have been no pure-blooded Omaguas in

Peru since the end of the eighteenth century. The Peruvian Omaguas in Brazil are known as *Umaiias*.

The *Marahuas*, a branch of the Mayoruna tribe, and, like them, speaking Tupi, occupy the south side of the Amazon about half-way between the Ucayali and Yavari rivers. Some fractions of them are found on the banks of the Yavari and even on the Juruá; they numbered all told, in 1870, only about 300, while the Mayorunas, although extending 200 miles along the Amazon and 90 up the Ucayali, then numbered but about 800. They differed from each other in toilette. Following the custom of the American savage when separating from the parent tribe, the Marahuas adopted a costume and ornamentation of their own, and instead of shaving their heads and marking the face with black figures, pieces of silver and feathers of the ara, Marcoy found them letting their hair float loose and the mouth bored full of holes in which were inserted needles of the palm six inches long.

THE HUALLAGA

The Huallaga, which joins the Amazon to the west of the Ucayali, rises high among the mountains in about 11° S. lat., in lake Chiquiacoba in the plains of Bombon, near the Cerro de Pasco. For nearly the whole of its length it finds its way

through a succession of gorges, an impetuous torrent running seldom less than six miles an hour. Besides forty-two rapids it has other formidable impediments even to canoe navigation, among which are many floating trees and snags. Large river steamers can ascend to the Pongo de Aguirre, 140 miles, but canoe navigation terminates at Tingo-Maria, 700 miles above its mouth. Part of the lower river is much broken up by islands, and from Yurimaguas to the Amazon there are extensive lakes and great districts subject to floods. The entire valley is infested with vast clouds of ravenous mosquitoes. The basin of the Huallaga has, therefore, never offered many advantages for tribal occupation and expansion, and must have been repellent to Indian migratory peoples, always forcing them to disintegrate to accommodate themselves to the character of the country. The salt mines near the mouth of the Huallaga must, however, have been sought from far and wide by the tribes of the upper Amazon and its tributaries.

This river, in recent times, is occupied by christianized Indians gathered into missionary *reductions* where different tribes and small unnamed hordes have become amalgamated and consequently all distinctive tribal characteristics have ceased to exist. The numerous rapids and shallows between the head of canoe navigation,

615 geographical miles up-stream from Chasuta, which is the head of steamboat navigation, 258 geographical miles above the mouth of the Huallaga, must have kept the tribes at all times very distinctive.

Just below the mouth of the river San Miguel de Sucumbios at the head-waters of the Putumayo is the place called Concepcion Vieja, near which is the hamlet of Tapacunti, where Señor Codazzi, about the middle of the last century, met a mulatto who lived there with his family. He made yearly voyages by canoe down the Putumayo to the Amazon, and thence ascending this river and the Marañon to the mouth of the Huallaga went up this stream a considerable distance to get salt, with which he carried on a small trade.¹

¹ See Raimondi's *El Perú*, Vol. III, p. 534. Nearly all of the Indians of the Ucayali as well as nearly all of the tribes of the upper Amazons and those of the Napo provide themselves with salt from the lower Huallaga at Callanyacu and Pilluana. They gather it in large pieces which they reduce to powder into which they dip their meat and fish as they eat. But the Campas of the upper Ucayali get their salt from the Carro de Sal near the Rio Perene and suck bits of it in their mouths. The *Casibos*, *Remos* and *Amahuocas* eat no salt whatever and, according to Padre Lucìoli, when children of these tribes are taken prisoners by the whites or by Indians who salt their food it at first makes them very ill, causing violent fever and diseases of the skin; but after a time they become completely accustomed to it.

The greater part of the Indians use much pepper as a condiment.

Among the tribes of the Huallaga are :

The Cocamillas on the east side near its mouth.

The Jibaros on the west side up the Apena river to its head-waters and along the south side of the Amazon.

The Aguanas : a mission on the east side of the Huallaga, about $5^{\circ} 30'$ S.

The Burgeños on the east side of the same stream at the mission of Santa Maria, and a little farther up at the mission of Yurimaguas.

They are also found on the south side of the Amazon just below the mouth of the Huallaga, and on both sides of the river Canapanos. Again we find them at about $6^{\circ} 10'$ lat. at a mission just north of the river Cainarachi.

The Yumbos are at a mission at about $6^{\circ} 15'$ lat. on the Huallaga.

The Chasutas at $6^{\circ} 20'$ S. lat. on same river.

The Paimas and Suchichi are west of the Huallaga between its great bend to the south-west and the river Cainarachi, which comes from the south-west.

The Chumbasa at a mission at $6^{\circ} 35'$ lat. on the Huallaga.

The Cholones occupy the district between 7° and 10° S. lat. west from the Huallaga to the Marañon.

The Indians of this tribe whom Herndon found

at Tingo-Maria, the head of canoe navigation on the Huallaga, he pronounced as better in character than any whom he afterwards met—"good-tempered, cheerful and sober, and by far the largest and finest looking of the aborigines."

CHAPTER VI

THE EASTERN SLOPE OF THE ANDES

THE upper waters of the Mamoré, north-west to those of the Madre de Dios, does not yield in ethnological interest to any part of the Amazon valley. To the Incas, the portion north-west of the upper Beni river was a source of such anxiety that it kept them constantly on the alert in dread that its numerous hostile tribes might force the passes of the eastern cordillera and threaten even Cuzco itself. This region is one of the most healthy and beautiful in the world, and nature has lavishly endowed it with precious gifts. Great rivers with countless branches, pillowed high among the snows, nourish lands of incomparable fertility, and wind among the Andean foothills, which are richly clothed with exuberant vegetation. Magna Graecia never offered a home which pandered to greater bodily indulgence. Overlooking it all is a vast crescent of snow peaks flanked by the gigantic domes of Illimani and Illampu (the Resplendent), or Sorata, of almost matchless magnificence. No

wonder that an old friend of mine ¹ located the Garden of Eden on the lower slopes of Sorata.

The most north-eastern hills of the Andes which penetrate the Beni region terminate at about 14° S. lat., in the vicinity of Tumupasa and Ixiamas, thence one looks upon a plain of unlimited horizon as level as the ocean. The Andean boundary line of this plain, which is that of the ancient Mojos lake, takes an irregular course to the junction of the river Heath with the Mayu-tata, and then north to the Acre. South-easterly from Ixiamas, it runs sinuously to Trinidad on the Mamoré tributary of the Madeira. It was the debatable frontier between the Orient-Andean tribes and those of the plains.

According to Garcilasso, the Inca Rocca, a successor of Manco Capac, entrusted to his son, Yahuar-Huaccac, an expedition of 15,000 men to conquer this region, then called Antisuyu. He easily penetrated from Cuzco to Paucartambo, and thence with great difficulty to the Tono, a little mountain tributary of the Mayu-tata, but

¹ Emeterio Villamil. He belonged to a prominent family of La Paz, Bolivia. He spoke thirteen languages fluently, including the Aymará Indian tongue, his MS. essay on which I have. He was the representative of Bolivia, in 1870, for the demarcation of the boundary line between Bolivia and Brazil under the treaty made between those countries in 1868.

no farther. Even the great Inca Yupanqui sent a numerous well-equipped army to conquer Antisuyu, but, in a campaign of several years' duration, the remnant of it which the savage tribes spared they absorbed. It is probable, however, that the Indians of the Orient-Andean slopes once held some slack allegiance to the imperial authorities of Cuzco, as is evidenced by the ancient military road which the Incas opened by Suri and Camata. It passes near Aten by the height of Altuncama, near Apolobamba, and runs northward; then goes through the gorge of Siliamas and continues to San José de Chupiamonos. At the high points of the *pampa* it has small fortifications. The good Padre Fidel Codinach told me at the convent of La Paz, in 1869, that near Ixiamas he "found an Inca road running from the direction of Cuzco towards the Rio Beni. It was about twenty-five feet wide and long lengths of it, well paved, are still visible." This was probably an extension of the same road above mentioned.

Soon after the conquest of Peru by the Spaniards the savage tribes at the eastern base of the Andes completely resumed their independence. The partial rule of the Incas was forgotten among them, except on the Tono river, where traces of Inca settlements can still be found.

Only a short period of time elapsed from the date of the Spanish conquest before an expedition of note attempted to reach the Mayu-tata or Madre de Dios. The conclusion of the civil war between the Pizarros and Almagro in southern Peru (in 1538) left Hernando Pizarro surrounded by many dangerous and turbulent followers, of whom he desired to rid himself. He therefore authorized Pedro de Candia to lead a body of 300 men from Cuzco to conquer the Orient-Andean region. Herrera says that Candia entered by the slope which is limited on the north by the river Opotari and south by the valley of Cochabamba which is called the Mojos road, and that finally he took the route across the Tono Andes, and in Opotari, three leagues from Tono, found a large town, thirty leagues from Cuzco. Thence, after four days' march through a dense forest, they were opposed by savage hordes, and after infinite sufferings the expedition returned by the way of Caravaya.

Pizarro then deprived Candia of his command and allowed one of his most esteemed companions, Pero Anzuras de Camporedondo, to organize a force to conquer the province of Mojos by the way of Caravaya, the Inca name of which was Collahuaya. He gathered a large and enthusiastic band of adventurers supported by several thousand Quichua Indians and started

(in 1539) from the town of Ayaviri. He descended the mountains to Sandia and San Juan del Oro, centres for the working of the rich placers of Caravaya, which had been worked in Incarial times, but by which pass is unknown—probably by one within about one hundred miles of the river Tono. He then entered the present Bolivian province of Caupolican, called Zama, from which is derived the name of the town of Ixiamas or Ysiamas of to-day, in the north of the same province.

Ixiamas, Tumupasa, Aten and Cavinass form a large district, west of the middle Beni river, occupied by Tacana Indians. The expedition seems to have crossed this great river, which they called the Amapalcas, and to have penetrated far to the south-east into the territory of Mojos. It probably reached the Mamoré river a little to the south of the present town of Trinidad. Then, sending out a small scouting party, a great river was discovered running from east to west, doubtless the Grande branch of the Mamoré. After five months of terrible hardships, the expedition returned to the town of Ayaviri, having lost 4,000 Indians and negroes and 143 Spaniards. The former suffered from hunger to such an extent that as fast as their companions died the survivors ate them.

In 1567, the rival expeditions of Tordoya

and Maldonado, numbering several hundred adventurers, penetrated to the head-waters of the Mayu-tata. Here, for three days, they so fiercely fought against each other in the dense forests that nearly all of them were killed. The few who remained alive were beset by the savages, who killed Tordoya and captured Maldonado. Other expeditions of minor importance followed during the Spanish colonial period, but accomplished nothing.

In 1835, the English General Miller descended from Cuzco to the forests of Paucartambo; but, during the first half of the past century, the War of Independence and the general exhaustion which followed left the tribes on the eastern slope of the Andes to bury in oblivion the memories of Spanish inroads upon their forest strongholds. Several coca estates continued to exist, but were constantly encroached upon by the warlike Chunchu Indians.

In 1851, Lieutenant Gibbon of the United States navy reached the Tono from the Andean tableland. Sir Clements Markham penetrated into the forests of Paucartambo in June, 1852, and reached the *hacienda* of San Miguel, where he found the good Padre Bovo de Revello, an Italian Carmelite monk, with his little flock of neophytes. He had changed the name of the river "Amarumayu" of the Incas to Madre de Dios, for the

reason that the savages after having killed a number of his people, had thrown the image of the Virgin Mary into the water, which, after having been carried down-stream by the current, was found on a rock in the middle of the river. It seems destined to retain the name conferred upon it by the pious friar, although known to the Incas as the Amaru-mayu or "Serpent river."

In 1860, the gallant Peruvian, Faustino Maldonado, with a scantily equipped party of only twelve men, essayed the task of descending the Amaru-mayu throughout its length. He reached the Tono, built a raft, fought his way through the savage tribes, entered the Beni and, soon after, the Madeira, where in the cataract called the *Caldeirão do Inferno*, or Caldron of Hell, he lost his life. I was nearly wrecked there in 1871. It is a terrible combination of reefs, rapids and whirlpools about a mile and a half long.

It is not surprising that Colonel La Torre, Prefect of Cuzco, pronounced the "Madre de Dios" the broad, open tomb for explorers. It received him also, in his expedition of 1873. He reached a point near the main river, and died pierced by thirty-four Indian arrows.

Besides the numerous efforts made to explore and occupy the region of the Amaru-mayu by descending the Andes to the east of Cuzco, many expeditions, during and after the Spanish colonial

period, attempted to reach the lower Beni and Mayu-tata districts by way of the river Beni from La Paz, and from Sandia in Caravaya.

The Franciscan convent at La Paz was especially zealous in its efforts to establish missions in the territory indicated, and clung tenaciously, but not always successfully, to any foothold it gained. Cavinás, on the middle Beni, appears to have been its main outpost.

In 1560, Diego Aleman, a resident and one of the founders of La Paz, organized a company of adventurers to discover the lands watered by the Mayu-tata. He descended the mountains north of Cochabamba, but, on the borders of Mojos was routed and made prisoner by the Indians. Then followed the licenciados Balboa and Garcés, who reached the Mayu-tata but returned on account of insufficient resources. The information gained caused Padre Miguel de Urrea to try his fortunes. After remaining for a considerable period of time, he was killed by the *Sabainas*. Then followed the curate Calacoto, who was forced to return without result.

Padre Rafael Sains, in his *Memoria histórica del Colegio de San José de La Paz*¹ (unpublished),

¹ See "Límites de la Provincia de Caupolicán ó Apolobamba," por Carlos Bravo, La Paz, 1890, in my *Bolivia Noreste*.

says that Pedro de Alegui Urquiza obtained from the king a privilege to conquer Caupolican. With a strong expedition he founded his first town, San Juan de Sahagun de Mojos, and then Apolobamba, and pressed on to Aquachile, an Indian town, where he died of fever. His disheartened followers then abandoned the two last-named places and retired to Mojos.

Padre Gregorio Bolivar, in 1620 and afterwards in 1631, penetrated northward from La Paz into the lower Beni and Mayu-tata, but was never heard of again. In 1629, the Jesuit friar, Bernardo Rheus, from the Andes of La Paz reached a point to the north of Apolobamba and perished by the hands of the savages. The Dominican monk Tomas de Chares wandered, for fourteen years, alone to the north of Cochabamba in Mojos and the Beni. He returned to the convent of La Paz, and died about 1656. Friar Domingo Alvarez de Toledo took up the work, and, by the way of Caravaya, went forty leagues northward into the territory of the Toromona savages in the Mayu-tata basin.

From Padre Rafael Sains we learn that Gabriel Gonzales undertook the conquest of Paytiti in 1670, but returned after a fruitless expedition. Several missionaries, whose names he gives, reached the lands of the Araunas in 1680, where they remained two years, and retired disconsolate

at the ill success of their mission. Seven more then went from Sandia, and under most disheartening difficulties founded ten *reductions*, or Indian settlements, in two years, some of which were afterwards abandoned. From this time forward, the persistent missionary fathers, especially those of the convent of La Paz, generally held the ground they had gained, but never found it possible to effect a permanent lodgment in the basin of the Mayu-tata. It is probable that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they possessed much more information than the geographical world in general regarding northern and north-western Bolivia, and that the convents of Cuzco, Moqueguo, Juli on lake Titicaca and La Paz still contain much unpublished data describing the country, the course of the rivers, and manners and customs of the Indian tribes.

The intrepid Padre Mancini, who resided from 1850 to 1864 in Mocetenes and northern Caupolican, directed his steps westward from his mission station, and, alone, with cross in hand, travelled over an immense extent of unknown country, visiting many Indian tribes, such as the Guacagnaguas, Machins, and Toromonas. He then turned northward, remained for a time with the Araunas, crossed the Mayu-tata, and entered the country of the Pacaguaras, lying between that river and the Purús. He made a rude map of

his peregrinations which I saw at the Recoleta convent of La Paz (in 1869), to which he belonged.

In 1866, two Franciscan friars, from the same convent, reached the Mayu-tata, five days' journey north-west of their mission at Cavinás. I often met one of these good men at the above-named convent, Padre Fidel Codinach, a native of Spain, of half Spanish, half French blood, who gave me much information regarding the valley of the Mayu-tata and many notes from his journal. Between the Madidi branch of the Beni and the Mayu-tata, besides a considerable district north of the latter river, all of the tribes speak the Tacana language. It is almost totally different from either Quichua or Aymará. The Tacanas cannot count beyond six. With reference to their lands, they are unsurpassed in beauty, as much for their topography as for their fertility and richness; they cover a broad space, about four degrees of latitude and about eight of longitude. The position is exceedingly agreeable—now extensive groves, which are suddenly replaced by delightful pasture lands, now by brooks, rivers and lakes filled by numerous kinds of fish. The most perfect salubrity of climate exists, despite the warm temperature. The groves are delightful and filled with all that gives pleasure—the leafy and productive almond tree (probably the Brazil nut), “the aromatic

gum, and the palm ranging from the highest to the lowest, from the royal to the smallest. Hidden riches exist in these lands, grateful and filled with perfume, gum and wax abundant and varied. Here are found cabinet woods, medicinal plants and many other valuable products, without mentioning the great mineral wealth of the district."

In 1880-1881, Dr. Edwin R. Heath explored and mapped the Beni river from Reyes to its mouth. With a rotten old canoe and two Indian paddlers he descended the river, fixed the mouth of the Mayu-tata, and solved what had been a great South American geographical problem for centuries. The commercial effect upon the region was marvellous, and to-day it is the great producing area of the finest rubber shipped from the Amazon valley. I have commented on the resultant effects of rubber production upon the Indian tribes of the Orient-Andean region, and the consequent difficulties which beset an ethnological study of them in their present condition.

[The lamented death of the author while the work connected with the exploration of the Beni and its tributaries was in progress, prevented the completion of this chapter. Had he been spared, he would doubtless have dwelt upon the Bolivian expeditions, on the labours of the Peruvian officers and surveyors employed by the Commission of *Vías Fluviales*, and on the recent work of Captain Fawcett connected with the Peru-Bolivian boundary.]

CHAPTER VII

THE CHIRIGUANOS

THE Chiriguano country, up to a very recent date, comprised the whole north-western border of the Gran Chacu from the upper waters of the Rio Bermejo to north of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, say from $22^{\circ} 30'$ to $16^{\circ} 30'$ S. lat., and the spurs and foothills of the Andean Massif to within a short distance of the present cities of Tarija and Chuquisaca—a beautiful region, the area of which may be estimated roughly at 60,000 square miles.

On the Chacu side, the Chiriguanos had the sometimes hostile, sometimes friendly, indomitable Tobas, implacable enemies of the whites. On their Andean frontier were tribes which the Incas had subjugated but which the Chiriguanos constantly harassed. The Incas caused forts to be built at various points to guard their vassals from the raids of these terrible savages, and prevent the payment of tribute to them.

During colonial days the Spaniards confined their route of conquest to the immediate vicinity

of the Paraná and Paraguay rivers, and did not cross the inhospitable Chaco except far to the north, on the borders of Chiquitos, with a view to open a transitable route between Paraguay and Peru. Their first expedition was headed by the Governor of Asuncion, Juan de Ayola, in 1537. From the bank of the Paraguay river, at 21° S. lat., at a point now called Fort Olimpo, he penetrated westward and was massacred with his whole following by the Indians. From that time to 1560, several other Spanish expeditions took up the task but entered the country much further to the north, generally from the Laguna Gaiba. Irala led one as far west as the present site of Santa Cruz de la Sierra at the base of the Andes, the northern outpost of the Chiriguanos.

But their Chacu frontier has remained unsailed up to the present day. On the Peruvian side their war-like fame preserved them from attack, although they often raided the province of Chichas, robbing *haciendas* and killing travellers, and threatening the security of trade between the Plata provinces and those of Peru.

At length in 1574, the Viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, caused the founding of the town of San Bernardo de la Frontera in the valley of Tarija, and conceded to Luis de Fuentes, a distinguished Spaniard, a large area of country extending thirty leagues eastward into the

territory of the Chiriguanos; but he found it impossible to subdue them, and they waged continuous war against his settlement of Tarija, defining their frontier by a blood-red line.

Confederated with the Calchaquies, they blotted out five towns—San Miguel, Cañete, Nueva Cordoba, Londres and Nieva.

In 1575, the Dominicans founded a convent at Tarija to be followed later by the Augustins, and afterwards by the Franciscans.

The isolation of the Chiriguanos from the field of general disturbance during colonial times, enabled them to preserve their distinctive characteristics better than any other section of the Caraio race, and the accounts which we have of their virility, intelligence, independence of spirit, love of liberty and intrepidity enable us to understand why, prior to the conquest, the Caraios became dominant from the Atlantic coast of South America to the base of the Andes.

According to the Friars of Tarija, Chiriguano is a composite term meaning *estericol frio* (cold excrement), an opprobrious name given to them by the ancient vassals of the Incas, but they, with boastful antonomasia, call themselves *Abá*, which signifies man. The women they call *cuña*, the boys *cunumi* and the Christians *Carái*.¹

¹ The name of their own race, which means able, expert, sagacious.

In general the white inhabitants of the frontier of Tarija make use of these terms with the same meaning.

The friars of Tarija differ from Don Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa as to the derivation of Chiriguano. The latter in his *Relación de la Ciudad de Santa Cruz de la Sierra*, of which he was Governor, says, regarding the Chiriguanos, "The proper name of these people is *Cario*, from which is derived the name *Caribes* which they bear, and which means 'eaters of human flesh.' They also call themselves *Guaranis* and *Guarans* which signifies 'warriors.' They are also known as *Chiriguanaes*, which means *mestizos*, their children by Indian women of other nations. It is said that their origin and beginning is the coast of Brazil, and that they have gone on covering many parts and provinces, populating lands where there are many other tribes so as to exercise their natural cruelty against the human race." ¹

Padre Lozano estimates that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Chiriguanos could put a force of from 25,000 to 35,000 armed warriors in the field, apart from a vast number of women and children.

During the early days of the conquest they

¹ *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, Peru, 1885. Original (1586) in the Archivo de Indias, Patronato Real.

soon learned that any tribe which accepted the rule of the invader was doomed to slavery, and that the white man was the very essence of lying and dishonesty; that, coiled in the breviary of the friar, was the lash of the Spaniard whom Atahualpa had trusted. Hence it is not surprising to find one of the missionaries regretting the "extreme repugnance of the Chiriguanos to receive Christian civilization, and his indomitable tenacity in maintaining his independence."

The religious teachers who penetrated the wilds of South America with such devotion and courage frequently praise the docility and fine qualities of the tribes which welcomed their teaching and submitted to be formed into *reductions* or missions, but, with regard to the tribes which remained recalcitrant, they too often found no words or epithets sufficiently severe to depict their barbarism and degradation. These facts must not be forgotten when studying their writings.

Garcilaso de la Vega remarks that the Chiriguanos "were never conquered by the Inca kings." His account of what the spies of the Inca Yupanqui reported regarding them is revolting, and, in the light of subsequent knowledge, must be rejected as very improbable, if not wholly untrue, like much that we find in his *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*. The ambitious

Yupanqui undertook the conquest of the Chiriguanos with a well-equipped army of 10,000 men, commanded by captains selected from his own family. They descended from the Andean plateau and, after a futile campaign of two years' duration, the remnant of the force returned to the mountains badly defeated. This occurred about the middle of the fifteenth century.

It is worthy of notice that when this great Inca conqueror made war against the Chiriguanos he was, according to Garcilasso, projecting the conquest of Chile by way of the desert of Atacama, but there are strong reasons to believe that the route which he opened for his far southern expedition was "by the way of Chuquisaca, Jujuy and the valley of Salta, and from there, by the gorge of Escoipe, up the slope of the Obispo, through Angastaco, Tolombon, Balasto, Hualfin, Conando and San Francisco to Copiapo. This is confirmed by the accounts of the first Spaniards who penetrated that district, and by the fortifications, tambos and Ingahuasis which abound there."¹ Montasinos² relates that the Inca "sent many officials in advance to open and make a main road from the Charcas to Chile by way of the Chiriguanos, for there was already one from Cuzco to the Charcas."

¹ See *Tesoro de Catamarqueñismos*, by Lafone Quevedo.

² *Memorias Antiguas Historiales y Políticas del Perú*.

"This," says Lafone Quevedo, "is none other than the famous Inca road which, passing by Chicuana and the opening of San Francisco, reached Copiapo. It is the same road traversed by Almagro and other *conquistadores* of the south."

There is no doubt that this was the best possible route which could be selected for the invasion of Chile. It ensured supplies which were unobtainable along any road which could be opened through the arid, bleak, unpopulated and almost intransitable mountain region lying further to the west as far as the Pacific coast; but no doubt, to the mind of Yupanqui, there was one great objection to it—the country of the terrible Chiriguanos bordered it on the east for hundreds of miles and, at any moment, it would be in their power to cut communications with Chile and jeopardize the existence of the Inca army; and to show in what respect the Chiriguanos were held by the Incarial tribes, we may quote Garcilasso, who says, "Owing to their fierceness and cruelty they are feared by all their neighbours, and a hundred and even a thousand men will not stand up against ten Chiriguanos. Children are quieted and silenced by their very name."

Hence, as a preliminary to his great southern campaign, Yupanqui found it imperatively necessary to try to drive the Chiriguanos further

afield, but although his army was defeated he probably inflicted such losses upon them that they left his communications with Chile unmolested.

In 1556, Andres Manso, when he founded the town which he called La Rioja, sent a captain, Luis de Cabrera, to locate another to be called La Barranca, on the bank of the river Guapay or Grande. These settlements were in Chiriguano territory. The chronicles do not relate what the relations became between the colonists and the Indians, but doubtless they were no exception to the rule, and resulted in the destruction of the "odious colonies" and the massacre of every inhabitant of them except Cabrera, who escaped. The *campes* settled by Manso himself are still known as the Llanos de Manso.

The Chiriguano country was afterwards invaded by a Spanish army. Father Corrado relates that the Indians having heard of the decapitation of Tupac Amaru by order of the Viceroy of Peru, determined to avenge his cruelty by making him ridiculous. Thirty of them presented themselves at the government house at Chuquisaca, making humble reverence at the oratory in the reception room, and, with great devotion, presented several crosses to the Viceroy, assuring him that they had received

them from the angels who had descended from the skies to preach to them and had sent them to beg for missionaries to teach them the Christian faith. The delighted Viceroy ordered them to be received in procession in the cathedral, and, in common with the clergy of the city was stupefied at the prodigy. He ordered missionaries to be sent as they had requested. But his pride was terribly wounded when, on the first tempestuous night, the deputation from the Chiriguanos clandestinely disappeared with all the food which they had accumulated, joined their friends who awaited them near the city and fled to their Chacu stronghold. The burlesque thus perpetrated against the dignity of the Viceroy had the result which the Chiriguanos had probably anticipated. It so enraged him that he determined to subdue them. At the head of a large force of Spanish troops and Indian auxiliaries with abundant arms, ammunition and supplies, he invaded their country, but suffered an ignominious defeat and was obliged to retreat, with the loss not only of his supplies but of his personal baggage. He fled by such a difficult road that his followers had to carry him in a litter while the Chiriguanos followed on his heels, derisively shouting to the bearers to "throw the old woman out of the basket that they might eat her alive."

For many years after the ridiculous adventures of the Viceroy Toledo, the Chiriguanos raided the Gran Chacu border of the Andes wherever they found a town to harass or a Spaniard to be killed; in fact, for nearly three centuries these redoubtable Caraio warriors collected a blood tribute from the invaders of their lands. So bitter and devastating were their ferocious attacks that, in 1584, Don Felipe, King of Castile, issued a formal declaration of war against them, saying that they had even reached a point within two days' march of La Plata (Chuquisaca), where they killed a friar of the order of San Francisco, and he instructed "the President and Oidores and the Captains expert in the mode of warfare of the Chiriguanos to make organized war against them with fire and sword, giving as slaves any whom they might capture."

From the Missionary College of Tarija we derive much information regarding the Chiriguanos, the efforts to found missions among them and their manners, habits and culture.¹

Prior to the expedition of the Viceroy Toledo, a Carmelite friar and others had penetrated the Chiriguano district, but were obliged to return. Even the Jesuits, up to the time of their

¹ *Vide, El Colegio Franciscano de Tarija y sus Misiones, por dos Misioneros del mismo Colegio, Quaracci, 1884.*

expulsion from South America in 1767, had succeeded in forming but one small *reduction* among them.

In 1607, the Padres Samaniego and Oliva travelled among the tribes of the Rio Guapay, and Padres Ortega and Villanão among those on the Chaco frontier of Tarija, but after two years they returned despairing of converting any of the Indians to the Christian faith.

About two years later, at the instigation of the Indians themselves, Friars Augustin Sabio and Francisco Gonzales reached the Chiriguano villages of Tambavera and Tayaguasu, where they were cordially received, and commenced their labours. They built a church, embellished it with sacred images and religious decorations, and every day, "convoked the savages to hear the celestial doctrine, but like seed fallen on stony ground it took no root." The Chiriguano revolted, sacked the church and the houses of the friars and split open the head of the interpreter with a *machete*.

More than twenty years passed before the evangel was heard among them again. In 1631 three Franciscans, Gregorio Bolivar, Juan Sanchez and Luis de Jesus, left Cochabamba for the Indian country, equipped only with an ornament for saying mass. They disappeared among the Andean gorges and were never heard

of again. Years afterwards, some Chiriguanos told the Spaniards that the friars had been bound to trees and filled with arrows.

Jesuit friars tried it next, some by the way of Tomina and others by Santa Cruz de la Sierra, but they returned convinced of the futility of their efforts. Among them was Friar Cipriano Baraza, who for four years had made famous progress in missionary work among the Mojos. His success led him to attempt the spiritual conquest of the Chiriguanos in 1679, but the hostility of his reception caused him to return to the Mojos. A few years later the brother of Friar Baraza arrived at Tarija to take charge of the missionary college founded by the Marquis of Tojo in 1690, for the religious subjugation of the tribes of the Gran Chacu, and especially the Chiriguanos. Hardly were the sons of San Ignacio installed in their college when two of them, Arce and Zea, plunged down the mountain slopes to explore the field of their labours and traverse it from the Rio Bermejo to Santa Cruz de la Sierra. They were hospitably received, and when returning promised the Indians to visit them again. The result was that the Jesuits established a mission on the river Guapay, where the Indians were more docile than those near Tarija, for here the only response they gave to the friars was that they would burn them alive if

they dared to plant missions in their territory. Undismayed, however, the courageous Padre Arce, in 1691, founded the mission of San Ignacio, about thirty leagues from Tarija. The savages received the missionaries with mockery and laughter, and refused them the slightest service. After three years of fruitless sufferings the friars returned to their college.

In 1696, owing to the raid which the Brazilian slave hunters made on the Mojos *reductions*, "the old suspicion was revived among the Chiriguanos that the missionaries were only the precursors of the Spaniards, who would come and enslave them." This well-founded belief so impressed them that they fired the church and chased the friars away.

With the eighteenth century came further strenuous effort, and this time the Dominicans and Augustins succeeded in founding the *reductions* of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Miguel, Santa Rosa, and a fourth, in the valley of Salinas, called Santa Clara. About the same time, the Presbyter, Cristoval Nunez, in 1700, established another on the Chiriguano frontier, called Tomina.

Meantime a storm was brewing. The Indians of the Tarija frontier had become convinced that the chain of *reductions* which the missionaries were founding "was for the purpose of deliver-

ing them to the Spaniards." In 1727, with preconcerted action, their hordes swept along the Andean slope and carried fire and devastation from Tarija to Santa Cruz de la Sierra, destroying the missions, burning the churches and driving the friars back to the mountains. With a view to chastise them for their audacity, and lower their pride, the Viceroy at Lima caused the provincial militia to make severe reprisals. The troops made a campaign of four months' duration, during which period of time "they burned many Chiriguano villages, destroyed the crops, killed 300 Indians, and captured 1000 more."

The Chiriguanos were, for a time, submissive but unconquered. At the request of a small fraction of them on the left bank of the Guapay, two padres commenced a small *reduction* on the little river Piray, at a point about thirty miles north-west of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

In 1732, three Jesuit friars, Lizardi, Pons and Chome, from Paraguay, arrived at Tarija with the avowed purpose of conquering the Chiriguanos, and penetrated among them with great intrepidity, but, as the result of their perilous wanderings, the *Provincial* wrote, "Humanly speaking, there is no hope whatever of the conversion of the Chiriguanos, *Manus Domini non est abbreviata*; but they will sooner allow themselves to be cut in pieces than become Christians,

so great is the horror they have for this name." The *Provincial* determined that "such obstinate and indomitable people should be left to the malignity of their hearts." He evidently could not realize that hereditary instincts and mode of life during long centuries had taught these savages to prefer a cup of *chicha* to-day rather than the chance of a feast with the gods after death.

The Chiriguanos did not forget the punishment ordered by the Viceroy. In May, 1735, a band of them assaulted the little colony of Santa Ana, sacked the chapel, killed a Spaniard, tore off the sacred robes of the Padre Lizardi, destroyed the images of the saints, shot that of the immaculate virgin full of arrows and then cut off its head and hands. Then reducing the town and church to ashes they took the Padre Lizardi and twenty-three neophytes a league from the town, stripped the venerable friar of his clothing, seated him on a rock and shot thirty-three arrows into him, one of which penetrated his heart. In the same year they also revolted, and burned the church at the mission on the Rio Piray and threw the bells and images into a laguna.

Only in the valley of Salinas had the missionaries succeeded in preserving a single *reduction*, but it was constantly menaced. A few neophytes under their Padre Pons had been forced to wander

for three years among the valleys of the Bermejo and Orosas, and had been driven away from their settlements five times before they rested at their *reduction* of Nuestra Señora del Rosario.

Such were the results of the efforts to effect the spiritual subjugation of this small fraction of the Caraio people up to 1755, when the Franciscans founded their College of Propaganda Fide at Tarija.

The Franciscans devoted themselves with much tact and ardour to the conversion of the tribes which had proven so inflexible to the teachings of their predecessors, and, up to 1796, under terrible difficulties and disappointments, succeeded in founding several important missions among the Chiriguanos and Chanesees, but always under ridicule from the Indians, who protested against having the Christian religion imposed upon them. So that, when the missionaries thought themselves well established, the Indians rose in defence of their liberties and threatened to destroy all of the missions. The storm kept gathering until 1799, when it broke in barbaric fury. The Chiriguanos blotted out completely six of the principal *reductions*, burning the churches and sweeping everything from the earth, despite the precaution which had been taken to garrison some of them with Spaniards; but the attempt to destroy the remaining four

missions was frustrated by the Spanish troops which held them. In one case, at *Tapuitâ*, the Indians were repulsed in their assault, which lasted seven hours. But they haughtily retired vowing that "the war would not cease until they had stripped every estate of its cattle, had sacked and destroyed every settlement and driven back to the river Guapay every Christian in their lands."

The arrival of the Captain General Viedma on the scene with an army of 2,000 men enabled the missionaries in the month of April, 1801, to restore five of their *reductions*, and the following June he marched against the Chiriguanos intent on the destruction of their villages. He burned a few of them and then beat a hasty retreat, the Indians following and ridiculing him with the heads of two of his distinguished captains stuck on lances. In 1804 the Chiriguanos again raided some of the missions, especially those of the Obaig and the river Paropiti, but the persistent Franciscans restored them during the following year.

In 1810 Friar Antonio Tomajuncosa, Commissary and Prefect of the missions, wrote from the College of Tarija that the Jesuit fathers after seventy-seven years of efforts to reduce the Indians had only succeeded in baptizing 324 souls of all ages, and had left but one mission

at the time of their expulsion from South America, while subsequently the Franciscans had twenty-two missions and 16,425 converts among the Chiriguanos and neighbouring tribes as the result of their labours of fifty-five years' duration. This was hardly a fair comparison, taking into consideration that the Jesuits had opened the road for the Franciscans.

The celebrated bull of Pope Alexander VI, in 1493, giving all the heathen world to the Christian, had evidently sunk deeply into the missionary mind, for the devout Fr. Tomajuncosa complains that, "Only an entirely apostolic spirit can live among these unfortunate savages, and perform among them the offices of *Father, Master, Judge and Administrator.*"

The same worthy padre narrates the spiritual routine to which the Indians were obliged to conform at the missions ¹ and it is probable that it was but little varied in any part of South America:—"To make Christians of them, morning and evening are dedicated to teaching them our Catholic religion. At sunrise, they are called to the church and there they recite the Christian doctrine and commend themselves to God, one day in Spanish and the next in their own tongue.

¹ *Coleccion de Obras y Documentos relativos a la Historia Antigua y Moderna de las Provincias del Rio de la Plata*, por Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Ayres, 1836.

Mass follows, and then they retire to their houses. At sunset they reunite, recite the doctrine and holy rosary and again commend themselves to God, and having sung something devout they go to rest.

“In the new missions, all the prayers are said by the priests, and when, after several years, the young men are well instructed, the priest causes prayer to be recited by one of them in his presence. Sundays, and on the principal feast days, some point of the Christian doctrine is explained to them. Every year, during Lent, they are examined in it, and all who are capable of doing so comply with the precepts of the confession and communion.”

Such was the life of solemn routine to which the missionaries endeavoured to subject the man who had been nature's spoiled child for many thousands of years. Truly, the task which they undertook was a difficult one.

From 1810 to 1882 the Chiriguanos refused to accept any religious teaching, and in 1811 the neophytes entirely deserted the *reduction* of Tariguea, about fifty miles to the south of Tarija, and fled to their tribe Cuaymbu, while the Mataguayos of Ceuta, near Oran, were no less obstinate in their determination to resume their freedom. It was in the early years of this period that the colonial war of independence from

Spain took place. It naturally 'caused great perturbations among all the missions in Spanish America. Its effect upon those on the borders of the territory of the Chiriguanos was disastrous, especially when the patriot troops under General Belgrano captured Salta and penetrated Alto Peru to the missions of Acero, Iti, Tayarenda, and Tapera.

The missionaries and their neophytes adhered to the royal cause, the result being that many of the friars were imprisoned by the patriots, and the neophytes left without guidance. Some of the *reductions* were pillaged and others were destroyed by the Chiriguanos and Tobas, and the remainder were often the scene of bloody strife for a long term of years. The neophytes fled to their tribes in the forest, "and soon forgot the holy doctrines they had received."

Tranquillity came again with the Proclamation of Independence, and the Franciscans resumed their almost superhuman labours, although always more or less hostilized by the Chiriguanos. They rebuilt many of their churches in the thirteen *reductions* which they reoccupied. The total population of these in 1883 was 3,299 souls against 15,812 in 1813. Four missions on the frontier of Sauces, on the upper Parapati river, were completely lost and not a vestige of them remained.

To those who may condemn the Indians for their fierce resistance to the establishing of missions among them and their frequent baptism of them in blood and flame, it may be well to recall the lesson which, in colonial days, the Spanish rulers of the neighbouring province of Tucuman kept constantly before them. The province was of vast area, extending from Paraguay to the Chilian Andes. "The Governors of Tucuman, from Francisco de Aguirre, had *encomendado* the Indians to the *conquistadores* in recompense for their services according to orders of the king. *Encomiendas* ¹ were instituted entirely for the benefit of the Indians that they might receive protection from those to whom they were granted more as fathers and protectors than masters." They consisted of a certain number of Indians assigned to each Spanish settler, and they were supposed to pay a fixed tribute and to be protected and benefited in various ways. "Their masters forgot their obligations in great part and assumed despotic dominion over the miserable Indians, and sought to enrich themselves by the work to which they assigned to them without paying any attention to the orders of the king, nor to the laws of justice and humanity. They invented iniquitous

¹ *Apuntes Historicos de Salta en la epoca del Coloniaje*, por Mariano Zorreguieta.

measures to hoard riches at the cost of the lives of the Indians. One was to assign them to places remote from their fields, forcing them to excessive labour, which their masters held as of small account, and paying with the lash the smallest fault.

“The Indians lived, deprived of their liberty without being masters of their wives or children, to serve everybody irrespective of age or sex. Innumerable tribes perished, worn out in the efforts to satiate the avarice of the foreigner. The overseers also exploited them without remuneration, by augmenting their work.” . . . Thus all of the tribes responded to the missionary fathers, “that Christianity for them was the surest road to the loss of liberty and slavery to the Europeans.” ’Tis the old, old story of the whole of Spanish America and Brazil, and it required the eloquent and burning pen of Las Casas to elaborate it in all its enormity.

CHAPTER VII

TRIBES OF THE GRAN CHACU

THE missionary fathers of Tarija describe the Chiriguanos as tall, strong and perfectly developed; the head large, round and covered thickly with stiff black hair, which does not grow grey except in extreme old age. One very rarely sees a bald head among them. The face is very broad, but the forehead is not large. The cheeks are somewhat full and the eyes oblique and black, the nose gross and *roman*, mouth large, lips full, chin round and having a few hairs. They are of light brown colour, or rather, that of old parchment which has been smoked for a time.

The men cut their hair over the forehead as far as the temples, leaving the rest to grow, which curiously folds round the head, and which is bound with a wide, long band, ordinarily red, which they call *yapiciuana*. The few hairs of the beard and under the arms and on other parts of the body they pluck out with care and cut the eyebrows and eyelashes. They do not trouble

themselves much about clothing, for when they are children they go naked, and, when grown up, any rag suffices, and, lacking this, a handful of grass. Those who are best off, especially in their travels, wear a vestment of skins and a short loose clout made of skins of the peccary. A gala robe called *tiru* they wear on feast days. It is wide and long and covers all the body. To adorn themselves and preserve the skin as they say, they frequently anoint the body with a kind of foetid oil extracted from the fruit of the palmacristi, and paint the face and *legs* an intense red with a rude preparation from the seeds of the *achiote* (*Bixa Orellana*) or of the flower of the amaranthus. But their special adornment, which distinguishes them from all the other tribes of the Chacu, is what they call *tembeta*, and which is a species of button which they wear in the middle of the lower lip. This they pierce from infancy,¹ and the hole is gradually enlarged up to two or three centimetres diameter. The *tembeta* is of wood or tin, and usually a little green stone or some blue earthenware substance is set in it. Inside the lip it has two little flanges. They are immensely proud of this decoration.

¹ The ceremony of piercing the lip is performed by one of the most respectable old men of the village. The boy, when he has received the *tembeta*, is subjected to a rigorous retirement and fast for five days.

The women do not cut their hair, except in exceptional circumstances, but allow it to hang in tresses over their shoulders. The coquettes make an oval tonsure on the crown, from which the hair, growing straight and thick, forms a fringe similar to that of certain birds which they consider a great adornment and which they call *yattira*. Their clothing is the *tipoi* or *mandu* which falls to the knees. They are fond of wearing ornaments on the forehead and neck made of small shells and coloured pebbles. The *tiru* of the men and the *tipoi* of the women is of cotton dyed a dark turquoise or a rough yellow.

The Chiriguanos do not like to live in large settlements, they prefer to distribute themselves in small villages a short distance apart, which are almost always situated on high ground along little streams of water. Each of these villages is composed of a group of eight or ten sheds built round a more or less regular square. They are very simple, and are composed of a single room, sufficiently large for all domestic purposes. The walls are of poles and cane plastered with mud, and the roof is of straw. To resist the tropical rains and winds they make the roof very steep so that it nearly touches the ground, and so that the almost continuous smoke inside may escape from the aperture at the top, which is as long as

the roof. The women keep the interior of the house scrupulously clean and sweep it frequently.

Fire is never wanting in a Chiriguano habitation, and the first thing they think of when travelling, is to make one either of flint and tinder or by rapidly revolving a small stick in the cavity of another until a spark ignites a little roll of cotton near it.

The furniture of their houses is very simple, bedsteads of cane and a few *hamacs*, a good supply of pots, water jugs, jars and *yambuis*¹ all of rough earthenware. They also have plates and wide, deep earthen dishes, *mates* and *porongos* (great water jars), curiously carved and painted for feast days and the service of distinguished guests.

Their food is simple, maize prepared in a variety of ways, beans, sweet potatoes and pumpkins which they cultivate in small quantities. They also gather various wild herbs which they season with red pepper. In addition to the products of the chase, they are extremely fond of fish. The drink for which they have a great predilection they call *cangüi*, generally known along the Andes and in South America as *chicha*, a kind of beer made of maize. It is turbid,

¹ Some of these jars are three feet in diameter and the same in height. I have seen much larger ones among the Indians of the Beni department, adjoining the Chiriguano territory.

cooling and nutritious and has a bitter sweet taste. It is food and drink to the Indians, their delight and passion, and, as a Chiriguano told a missionary, "It is our father and mother."

They give a yearly feast to their friends from the villages of the vicinity after the harvest. Weeks before it takes place, they half bury, in the centre of the plaza, great jars of *cangüi*. On the eve of the entertainment they prepare themselves by bathing, plucking out the eyelashes, anointing and colouring their foreheads, hands and feet, arranging their *gala tirus* and *ñandús* (ostrich plumes), their wide *yapiciúanas*, collars and bracelets. The invited guests wait all night a short distance from the village, and, at the break of day, enter it on the run, and with wild cries attack the jars of *cangüi* which are uncovered at that moment. Then, seated in *hamacs* and on bamboo benches, they drink in silence for a couple of hours and then commence to dance and sing.

As directors of the bacchanalian chorus two old men stand in the middle of the square holding the *yandügua*, which is a great mass of ostrich plumes arranged in the form of a parasol. The men are grouped about them, and, at a short distance, the women form a circle joining hands. The dance commences, the men bow a little and then straighten the right knee in unison with the

movement of the *yandüguas* constantly agitated by the directors. The dance of the women consists in alternately taking a step backwards and another forwards, accompanying it with a slight inclination of the body. It is impossible to describe the chaunt. The music and the dance, accompanied by frequent libations, cease at nightfall, to commence with renewed spirit the following morning. Ordinarily, the orgy continues for many days, for when the jars in the plaza are exhausted they are replenished from others in store.

Every town recognizes a Chief or *Cacique*, who is called a *tubicha* (great), and there are even over-lord *caciques* who rule a district. If the *Cacique* proves of rough nature or by words or actions displeases his followers, these refuse to obey, and abandon him, giving adherence to another whom they proclaim chief.

An especial decoration of the *Cacique* in ancient times, and even now in some villages, was the *yattira* or tuft of hair on the top of the head and strings of green pebbles suspended from the ears. It is also their privilege to use the *yandügua* in dances, feasts and public functions, and the *igüirape*, which is a flat baton sculptured and decorated with capricious figures. The *Cacique* gives hospitality to strangers and endeavours to keep peace in his village. He exhorts them at

times in the silence of the night, and announces public feasts or *arete* by placing in the plaza a great jar of *cangüi*. It belongs to him, in any public calamity, to call together the *medicine men* or sorcerers, and order the execution of the author of any witchcraft, and to prohibit mourning for his death. One of his special attributes is to announce war, march at the head of his warriors, and treat for peace at the opportune time.

Their favourite arm is the arrow, which they shoot with admirable skill a hundred yards or more, while they dodge that of their adversary with wonderful agility. It is their custom to assault towns at early morn and with infernal yells. Their first attack is so furious that they are unable to sustain it for a long period of time. The heads of their enemies killed in battle, or at least their scalps, or an ear or other member of the body, they carry to their villages in triumph, where they remain exposed to the weather and to the mockery of the women and children. Morning and night, while the expedition lasts, the women remain in the villages, and, in a kind of procession round the plaza, sing lugubriously while inclining the body.

The proof that they were once cannibals is indisputable. The ancient *abas* were accustomed to employ their prisoners in domestic service until they became fat; then they sent them for

wood and, as they returned, they killed and quartered them. They then roasted the pieces at a fire made from the wood provided by the victim. Sometimes they tore out his heart, and if any one refused to eat a piece of it raw they called him *cuña* or woman, a terrible appellation among them.

Abortion is frequent, especially among the unmarried women instigated by the old ones, who administer potions for the purpose. If a deformed child is born, they kill it almost without exception, and if twins they only allow one to live, so that it may have all the milk.

They lead a lazy life and sow their maize, generally yielding an abundant crop, but once a year. The head of each family has his piece of cultivated land apart, and his ownership is respected and all the village unite to aid him in its cultivation, but, in return for their labour, he treats them to several jars of *cangüi*, so that agriculture among them is a prolonged feast. The women are rarely idle. Besides their ordinary domestic duties, they gather the harvest, transport it on their shoulders, weave cotton, dye, and make pottery.

Although without temples, altars or idols, they recognize superior power, one of whom is supreme and thunders from the sierras and sends

the rain. They also respect the tutelary deities of the forests, plains, hills and streams, whom they fear and to whom they give the name of *Iya*. They also believe in evil spirits, whom they call *aña*, and of whom they have great terror, especially during the small hours of the night. But, above all, they dread their sorcerers or magicians, called *ipaye*.¹ Of these, there are benefactors who cure the sick, bring rain and dispense all good, whom they hold in reverence almost as gods. To cure the sick, the *ipaye*, after smoking, sucks the affected part of the patient with great force and pretends to draw out the evil—the *tupicho*—which ordinarily consists of a little worm or a small pebble or some other nonsensical thing which he had secreted in his mouth.

To exorcise public calamities, the *ipaye* smokes the ceremonial cigar, and then, followed by the entire village, in the direction of the smoke, digs in the ground and takes out the malefic influence with the skull of some small animal stuffed with little bones and wax. They have various ceremonies according to the evil they undertake to remedy. Sometimes their intervention is of a diabolic nature. They are not alone the most respected but the richest among the Chiriguanos, for credulous followers prodigally

¹ The *pajés* of the parent Caraïos.

remunerate them, and, with great good-will, deprive themselves of everything to propitiate them. The malign *ipayes* were the authors of all evil: they chased away the clouds to prevent rain, called the tigers, locusts and all plagues, and caused all infirmities and death. The Chiriguano believed that he would never die unless the *ipaye* infused into him a morbid desire for death. Even if he fell under the claws of a tiger or the bite of a snake, only the *ipaye* was the real cause of his death, who had changed himself into a wild beast or a reptile for the purpose of killing him. So great was his abhorrence for such an *ipaye* that sometimes in ungovernable fury he fell on him and made him pay for his evil influences with his life, killing him with club or arrow, and burning his body to ashes. Such executions were frequent.

In case of an eclipse of the sun, they believe that a wild beast is trying to devour it and, should he be successful, eternal night would cover the world. They make a great noise to frighten him away, play their flutes and whistles, beating their water-jars and gourds.

Like many other South American tribes they practise the couvade.

No ceremony accompanies marriage among them. After a certain period of time a Chiriguano selects one of his many loves, who accom-

panies and serves him until death separates them. In case of divorce, the wife has to leave all that she has received from her husband, even if it leave her naked. It appears that in ancient times, but not often to-day, polygamy was customary. Bigamy is more common, generally with mother and daughter, or with two daughters, for the interest to possess the most beautiful moves them to add the most ancient. But although they ignore the relationship of consanguinity it is repugnant to them to marry their cousins.

Their burial ceremonies exceed all others in solemnity. When a person is at the point of death, all his relatives gather round him with tears and lamentations, and the women, with a thousand caresses, try to prevent the departure of the spirit by strongly compressing his chest and mouth. When he gives his final gasp the cries increase beyond measure. Then they arrange the corpse, comb the hair, paint the forehead, dress it in the best *tiru*, crown the head with the finest *yapicuana*, and, thus adorned with all the ornaments used by him in life, they seat the body on the ground so that the chin remains between the knees and the arms crossed upon the legs. The widow, or the nearest relative, sustains the corpse in her arms, and the others, seated or standing, form a circle round it cele-

brating the obsequies with clamorous cries. This lugubrious ceremony lasts a day, but more if the defunct is a *Cacique* or very beloved person. Meanwhile, an excavation eight or ten feet deep is made in the house and in this an urn is placed and the body deposited therein, with the face turned to the east. Close beside it or in its bosom a calabash filled with water or *cangüi* is arranged, and a lighted wick so that the dead person will not want for refreshment and light during his journey. At times also, so that he may have companionship, they add a live parrot. Then they cover the rude tomb with a similar jar inverted, and over this earth is deposited, on top of which they lay a knife, axe, arrows and other things which belonged to the departed.

The nearest relatives cut off their hair and place it on the sepulchre, leaving it there ten days, during which period of time they remain seated around it with their heads covered with dirty cloth and uttering ceaseless lamentations. Meantime they eat nothing but the insipid *atiruru*. Should they eat *aticüi* the fountain of their tears would dry, and if they took *cangüi* their entrails would burn. The mourning does not cease here, but continues for months and even years, according to the quality of the defunct and the affection in which he was held. Their

hours for mourning are about midday, sunset and after midnight, during the silence of which rises from their cabins sad and prolonged cries which last until daybreak.

The soul of the departed one changed to *aña* wanders for a time in the vicinity of the town until it takes its departure for *Iguoca*,¹ which is the Chiriguano elysium. There in company with other *añas* it passes a happy existence, constantly singing, dancing, playing musical instruments and drinking *cangüi*. After this the *aña* undergoes a number of transformations.

There is a tribe identical in customs and language called the Chaneses incorporated with the Chiriguanos. Persistent tradition has it that they are the remains of a nation which the latter nearly exterminated in remote times, reserving only the children whom they brought up in their habits and language. Multiplying greatly, these obtained their emancipation and formed villages among, but apart from, those of their masters. Despite perfect equality they readily distinguish each other. The Chiriguanos call the Chaneses "*Tapi*," a word meaning descent from something

¹ *Iguoca* is a small saline district north of the Rio Pilcomayo, between Guacaya and Ingre. It is surrounded by mountains. When obliged to cross it, the Chiriguanos walk, and assume great modesty of demeanour, and if they speak, look or laugh they pay the fault with death.

bought, and treat them individually as Chirámui, *chiyari*, "my slave," while the Chaneses honour the Chiriguanos with the title of *cheya*, "my master."

The Tarija missionaries, in 1757, found 2,000 Chaneses¹ at the *reduction* of Pilipiti, being harassed by the Chiriguanos.

In 1885, there still remained about 40,000 to 46,000 Chiriguanos, but about 1875 it may be said that their Christian neighbours had subjugated any fractions of them which still strove to maintain their position, and, according to Padre Cardus, "possessing themselves of their lands and leaving them without hope of ever reasserting their independence." Still they made one more effort, which in 1892 obliged the Bolivian Government to send a military expedition into their country, and in a sanguinary combat the Indians were terribly punished. Thus the Chiriguanos are now partially *civilized*.

In 1872, I met a band of two hundred naked Chiriguano warriors, and nowhere, among the many Indian tribes I have known on the western continent, have I seen men of such fine physique

¹ Lafone Quevedo, in his *Los Indios Chanases* (which he spells with an a) *y su Lengua*, fixes the habitat of a tribe of Chaneses on the western side of the river Paraná in early colonial days. Were these the Indians whom the Chiriguanos nearly exterminated, making prisoners of their children?

and manly bearing, except, perhaps, among the Sioux of North America as they were fifty years ago.

The independent spirit, courage, endurance, intelligence, fortitude and determination of this savage race as herein demonstrated must lead us to believe that when they launched out from their primitive Caraio habitat to overrun vast areas of South America no other tribe or combination of tribes could arrest their march.

Between the Chiriguanos and their Caraio kinsmen of Paraguay lay the vast area of the Gran Chacu, extending as far north as the Chiquitos and Sunsa sierras. It was occupied by a great number of consanguineous tribes, forming what Lafone Quevedo¹ calls "the great family Chacu Guaycuru, consisting of Abipones, Mocovies, Tobas, Agaces, Payaguás, Caduveo-Mbayás and others, easily grouped in a single family."

From 19° S. lat., a vast plain stretches southward to the Straits of Magellan and now forms a part of the territory of the Argentine Republic. It also includes the provinces of Corrientes and Entre Rios and the entire Republic of Uruguay. Its area is about 900,000 square miles. The portion south of the great Rio Negro is known as Patagonia, a cold, arid, shingle-

¹ *La Raza Pampeana y la Raza Guarani.*

basalt-and-sandy country, so dry that it absorbs the drainage waters of the eastern slope of the Andes and allows but few rivers to reach the sea. The sandy region extends north to the Colorado river and thence north-west towards San Luis and Mendoza. But north-east of the Colorado are the vast and fertile pampas extending throughout the Province of Buenos Ayres and north into Santa Fé, Cordoba and Santiago del Estero. Sometimes in Corrientes, Entre Rios and Uruguay there are undulations reaching the dignity of hills, especially in the latter country where the ridges sometimes rise to an altitude of 1,500 feet above sea level. North of the Salado river, and as far as 19° S. lat., and from the Andes to the Paraguay is the Gran Chacu section, parched and almost waterless in the dry season, and much of it inundated and intransitable during the rainy months, when the great streams, swollen by the melting snows of the Andes, cross it, overflow the country far and wide, and wander through the forests which occasionally break the monotony of the plain.

Thus we have four grand divisions to the enormous area of southern South America—the Patagonian, Pampean, Gran Chacu, and Entre Riano—Uruguayan. Before the conquest they abounded in many kinds of game, especially deer, guanacos and ostriches. When the

Spaniard occupied the Atlantic margin of this illimitable hunting field, he found that it was the home of wandering tribes of savages as fleet of foot as the game they hunted. The physical characteristics and modes of life of the various tribes varied less than the general features and climatic conditions of the grand divisions of the region I have roughly outlined. The origin of these people is an immensely interesting problem. Dim rays of light break in upon it as we learn more of the geological structure of Patagonia and its fossil fauna. Possibly it once formed part of a now submerged continental area extending southward to Antarctic lands and, perhaps, connected with Australia and Africa, at a period when climatic conditions made it a pleasant abode for man.

It would be an endless task to chronicle the names of tribes with which the early writers have populated the region under consideration. As in other parts of South America, their lists are totally unreliable. They shrink the more they are analysed.

At the date of the conquest the number of Patagonian, Pampean and Chacu Indians may have reached 60,000 at the most, or about one man to fifteen square miles, but it should not be overlooked that their hunting grounds had to be shared occasionally with Araucanian tribes

from the Andes and Chile. When the Spaniards landed in Uruguay, it had, according to Aranjó ¹ 4,000 population. This gave eighteen square miles for each Indian, who also had excellent fishing along the Uruguay coast.

The Mocobi-Toba nation.—The Tobas still restlessly wander over and claim as their own a large area of the central and southern Chacu. They form a part of the great ethnic family, the Chacu-Guaycurú, and speak a dialect of the Mocovi-Abipon tongue. They are in direct contact with the Guaranis on the one side and the Chiriguanos on the other. Travellers among them describe them as an indomitable people of admirable beauty of physique, virile and proud. Padre Cardus pictures them as tall, muscular and strong, with piercing eyes, bold and suspicious. They speak easily and fearlessly, are vivacious, astute, haughty, valiant, daring and fierce. Even their language seems to have been invented exclusively for their serious and arrogant character, and their speech is always imperious and proud. They have an implacable hatred for the white man. All of them are splendid horsemen and mount without saddle or stirrups.

Boggiani says the women are tall and fat, and that when young their features are not disagree-

¹ *La Civilizacion Uruguaya.*

able, but become repulsive from the custom of cutting the hair so short and disfiguring themselves with an extremely complicated system of tattooing, covering the entire face. The men, however, are not tattooed, but paint themselves with *urucú*. In this, however, he disagrees with the account of a missionary of the College of Tarija, who says that the men are also tattooed, but only in vertical lines and on the eyelids, nose and chin. Both men and women puncture the lobes of the ears, gradually enlarging the hole so as to admit a cylinder of seven centimetres diameter. The women are fond of adorning their arms with bands of palm leaf.

They meet death with perfect coolness when they fall into the hands of their enemies, and there is no example of one of them having begged for his life even when submitted to ferocious tortures. If, when ill, the *paje* tells him that he cannot be cured he is at once killed by the blow of a club on the head. When it is suspected that an old Toba is approaching death, the women seize him and bury him alive and, when they believe that he has breathed his last, they cover his grave with branches as a protection against wild beasts.

Those who know the Tobas best confirm d'Orbigny's description of them: "They are robust with large legs, broad shoulders, full

chest, and the body not slender. . . . Their features resemble those of the Charruas, a large head, a broad but not full face, a projecting forehead, the nose is broadened by wide nostrils, and, in old age, they have pronounced cheek-bones, the mouth is large and the teeth splendid. They have small ears and eyes, the latter sometimes *bridés* at the external corner. The hair, when not plucked out, is like that of all the American aborigines. Altogether their features are most serious and accord perfectly with the taciturnity of the man."

*The Guaycurús.*¹—These tribes were of Chacu origin and were a valiant and warlike people of great physical strength and endurance. They were restless nomads and lived entirely on game and fish, and like the other Chacu tribes were not anthropophagi. They spoke a guttural language quite different from that of the Caraios. The Spaniards found them ferocious and irreconcilable enemies on whom they could never impose their yoke.

The Chacu-Guaycurús were of necessity a nomadic and predatory race. The country they occupied was, for a part of the year, extensively

¹ This nickname, conferred on certain Chacu tribes by the Guaranis, has been perpetuated by so many authors since the conquest that, to avoid confusion, it is necessary to adhere to it.

inundated, then, for several months, so dried and parched that it was difficult to find sufficient water for the everyday wants of the savages, forcing them frequently to quench their thirst from stagnant pools, swamps or saline lagunas.

The men shaved their heads, leaving only two concentric rings of hair with a tuft in the middle of the crown, and they wore feathers of various birds on the head. They always wore a broad bracelet made from the skin of some animal so as to protect the wrist against the recoil of the bowstring. They plucked out all the hair on the body, including the eyelashes and eyebrows, saying that it improved the sight.

Their arms were bows, arrows, clubs and a knife made of the jaw of the palometa or of the piranya fish. This was fixed to a stout wooden handle and had the appearance of a saw. It was a terrible weapon.

At fourteen years of age the boys dyed their bodies black, and from that time wore the *tembeta* in common with the men. Dobrizhoffer says that the Guaycurús pierced and enlarged the lobes of their ears until the rim sometimes hung down to their shoulders. The women shaved their heads quite bare. They practised abortion and infanticide among the unmarried women because the child had no known father. Matrimony was monogamic. The women were tattooed

differently from the men. The caciqueship was hereditary and on the death of a *Cacique* his eldest son succeeded him. They paid great attention and gave much care to the children of their *Cacique*.

Apart from the wars which they waged against all unfriendly tribes, they incessantly made war on the Guaranis of Paraguay and even after the Spanish occupation of that country it was found difficult to defend it against their numerous devastating attacks which sometimes terrorized Asuncion itself. The Caduveo-Mbayá branch of the Guaycurús was the most formidable and troublesome. They now occupy the region to the east of the Paraguay river in Matto Grosso between the rivers Apa and Miranda, but, according to missionary accounts, they once held both sides of the Paraguay, and made wild work among the Portuguese settlements of Matto Grosso as well as those of the Spanish colonists in Paraguay.

The main body of the Mbayás did not cross to the eastern side of the Rio Paraguay until the beginning of the eighteenth century, and even up to 1760 they alternated between the two sides of the river. Previous to the eighteenth century they occupied the northern Chacu between $19^{\circ} 30'$ and 22° S. lat., and in their raids attacked the Spanish settlements in Tucuman, Santa Cruz

de la Sierra and Paraguay. Although great nomads they divided the country among themselves for hunting grounds and other purposes. They avoided quarrels, and disunion among them was rare.¹

In 1865, they allied themselves with Brazil in the war which that country, the Argentine Republic and Uruguay waged against Paraguay. It is said that the Abipones considered them brave, while they regarded all the other Chacu Indians as of little account. Travellers among the Mbayás describe them as a sturdy race, finely formed, of medium height, independent character, generous and faithful to their word.

Their independent character was written on their serious faces. The women, however, were not so well proportioned as the men, but were amicable, kind, intelligent and domestic. They were expert makers of pottery, which they ornamented with beautiful designs, and they wore cotton cloth and were famous for the *hamacs* they made. Azara describes them as very seductive and the least honest of all the Indian women of the many tribes he knew, and their husbands had but little jealousy. They would not submit themselves to maternity before the age of twenty-five years. As among the Chacu

¹ *Etnografía del Chaco*. Manuscrito del Capitán de Fragata Juan Francisco Aguirre, 1793, por Enrique Peña.

tribes, they practised abortion to such an extent as to threaten the extinction of the tribe. Azara and Castelnau comment particularly on this practice among them.

In former times, before the introduction of the horse among them, they made extensive voyages by canoe.

The men wore the *tembeta*, cut their hair across the forehead and round the head, leaving a crown like that of the missionaries, and wore plumes round the head and wrists, and they coloured the body in fantastic patterns with *urucú*, and with the juice of the *genipapo* mixed with charcoal. Elegant bracelets and bands adorned their legs.

Both men and women plucked out their eyebrows and eyelashes, and tattooed themselves with designs which Castelnau pronounced artistic and odd, but they never coloured corresponding parts of the body with the same pattern. On the breast of every woman was tattooed the same device—the tribal totem. They had many servants, semi-slaves, whom they treated well. These they had captured in war or bought from other tribes.

Their matrimonial customs were similar to those of the Guaycurús. Parents had great love for their children, but rarely corrected them.

It was their custom, like that of many tribes

in North and South America, to abandon the sick and infirm who could not keep up with an expedition on the march.

When ill, the Mbayá kept a strict diet, and confided himself with perfect faith to the Medicine-man or *paje*, who violently squeezed the afflicted part, or smoked on it, or sucked it, spitting out the saliva. In fact he went through many extraordinary performances to eject or drive out the evil spirit which was always the cause of the malady. The funeral services, especially of any Indian having many possessions, were elaborate, and on his tomb were deposited his arms and properties, probably for use in the next world. The relatives of any one who died changed their names.

After the Caduveo-Mbayás had become an equestrian people, like the rest of the Guaycurús, they carried their devastating forays as far northward as Cuyabá in Matto Grosso, and from the upper waters of the river Paraguay to those of the Paraná. Taught by their kindred, the Payaguaes of the Rio Paraguay, they were already expert canoemen. They threw themselves across the route of the slave and trading expeditions of the Paulistas, between São Paulo and Cuyabá, and made bloody reprisals on them. In 1725 they destroyed one of their fleets loaded with merchandize and killed 600 men, and from

that time to the close of the century made countless attacks on the Portuguese settlements in Matto Grosso and on the borders of Goyaz. It is estimated that during this period of time they killed some 4,000 Portuguese and captured immense quantities of booty. The minor tribes which occupied the region in question also suffered severely or were driven to seek refuge elsewhere.

THE MATAGUAYO OR MATACOS

Before the advent of the Spaniards, various tribes of the Mataguayo type roamed over the extensive region between the rivers Bermejo and Pilcomayo and, at times, extended their hunting excursions far to the south-west. They bordered the Chiriguano and even wandered along the Chacu foothills of the Andes, as far south as the slopes of the cordillera of Aconquija, to the west of Tucuman. Matacos, Tobas, Abipones, and affiliated tribes seemed to share the great central Gran Chacu as a common hunting-field, although the Abipones roamed southward to the parallel of the Mar Chiquito, and even into the north-west part of the province of Corrientes. It is difficult to give any of these fierce nomads a fixed habitat; they were as uncertain of abode as the game they followed,

which was driven from place to place by the rains, winds and droughts.

According to Pelleschi,¹ the Mataco has a broad chest, is bull-necked with well-marked muscles, strong limbs, large head and broad face with high cheek-bones. His lips are full, his forehead, seldom wide, is hidden by unkempt hair. His feet are shapely and his hands small and well-knit; especially is this the case among the women. The eyes are nearly always slightly oblique and some very fine, round and horizontal. The nose is round and straight, with wide nostrils and not very prominent. The hair is smooth and black, and the children up to ten or twelve years have reddish hair, "a curious atavistic trait, which calls to mind the theory of Salles, that primitive man must have had red hair."

The above description of the Matacos also serves for the Tobas, only the latter are taller and their forehead appears broader, perhaps from the fact that they draw the hair back under their customary head-band. The skin of all these Indians varies in colour from new copper to mud; but occasionally some have blotches or dark spots. The Chiriguanos, however, are of a rather lighter shade, approaching the colour of bronze.

The Matacos had a certain ethnic relationship

¹ *Eight Months in the Gran Chacu, 1880.*

with the Guaycurús or Frentones, of whom Padre Techo¹ (1608) says that they extended their forays to the frontiers of Peru, and he also states, what is an item of particular interest, that, compared with their neighbours, the Matacos were very docile, and that "when the Spaniards first penetrated the Chacu they found that many Indians from Tucuman and Peru, fearful of the new régime, retired to this district, and it is attested (1628) that even now some of them speak the Aymará language, the vulgar tongue of the Bolivians. Among the nations most known were the Taimvias, Mataguayos, Tobas, Mocovies and Abipones . . . and various divisions of tribes who differed more in language than in habits and customs. One of their prevailing superstitions was for each man to select one from a number of fishes as patron and protector of his life, and such was his adoration that he preferred to die of hunger rather than take a mouthful of fish of that species. They lived in perpetual war with the neighbouring tribes."

According to Padre Juan Pastor,² there was a great drought in Tucuman in 1533 resulting

¹ *Historia de la Provincia Jesuitica del Paraguay*, quoted by Lafone Quevedo, in his Introduction to Pelleschi's *Los Indios Matacos*.

² See Lozano, *Descripcion Chorográfica del Gran Chaco*.

in starvation and pestilence. For three years, under instruction of their sorcerers, the Indians assembled from all parts of the Province and made sacrifices to their idols, and held great orgies to the sound of flutes, drums and gourds having pebbles within. Counsell'd by their sorcerers they migrated to the Chacu.

It is believed that the Taimvias were the Fenguas, Payaguáes and others who wore the *tembeta*. Padre Techo relates that another priest who penetrated far into the Chacu in 1641 found the Matacos much given to drunkenness, and, as regards funeral rites, after three days of banqueting followed by an hour of tears and then by hilarity, they gave a ball and indulged in a general orgy. They had a custom of presenting ostriches to the leader at their mortuary feasts. Lafone Quevedo remarks on this as something more than curious, in view of the fact that "in the burial-places of the Calchaqui region we find the *suri* or ostrich as an adornment on the sepulchral urns, as may be verified in the National Museum of La Plata."

Padre Pastor afterwards visited the Abipones, among whom he conversed in the Tonocoté and Gararani tongues with such good results that he started a mission, and, in continuing the missions among the Mataguayos, it was found, two years

later, that the general language of the Chacu was the Tonocoté, which was neither Toba nor Quichua, for "Padre Juan Oloris spoke the language of the Incas and learned the Toconoté, which was that of the Chacu mission.

As early as 1594 Barzana¹ wrote: "The Toconoté tongue is spoken by all the peoples who serve San Miguel de Tucuman and those who give service to Esteco, nearly all those of the Rio Salado and five or six of the Rio del Esteco. In this language the Company has three Padres workers and confessors, and by means of the art and vocabulary which they formed, they have caused thousands of infidels to submit to our Lord, not only in all the towns of Esteco and Tucuman, but also in the Rio Bermejo, because with this tongue, not only have all the Toconoté nation submitted to the faith, but also a great part of the nation called Lules, spread over many regions . . . and so warlike that had the Spaniards not appeared this nation alone with its continuous conquests would have finished with the Toconotés. Many of them know the Toconoté language and all of them have been catechised in it. Their own has not been

¹ Letter of P. Alonso de Barzana of the Company of Jesus to P. Juan Sebastian, his Provincial, Asuncion del Paraguay, Sept. 8, 1594. *Relaciones Geográficas de Indios*, Vol. II., Appendix.

reduced to precepts, for although one people, they have divers tongues, because not all of them reside in the same district."

Abbot Jolis, in his history of the Gran Chacu, 1789, relates that he found at a town called Matará, thirty-six leagues to the east of Santiago del Estero, seven hundred to eight hundred Mataraes (Mataco) Indians *encomendados* to the noble family of Ureyola, and "what I know myself is that none of them then spoke the Toconoté language, but only that of Cuzco or Perú." Padre Jolis was in charge of the mission of Macapillo in 1767.

Lafone Quevedo believes that the Matacos are descended from Guaycurú fathers and Lulu mothers and the Tobas a mixture of Guaycurús and Matacos; that the Guaycurús have linguistic relationship with the Gauranis; and that the Mataco has something of Guarani, and of Chacu Guaycurú, Toba and Mocovi is clear, because all of them prefix their pronominal particles; but it is rare to find a trace of Quilma which is more suffixing than any other tongue, and that all of these linguistic anomalies are explained if we agree with Montesinos that, more or less five hundred years before our era, there were grand invasions of Peru from Brazil and Tucuman. Quevedo rightly says that "according to the existing languages, everything is a mixture in

the Chacu," and consoles his, no doubt, vexatious studies of the subject by quoting Quatrefages:¹ "On the other hand, in questions of this nature the physical characteristics in all respects reach far beyond the others. A nation changes its language, customs, industries at times at the end of a very short period, but the cut, the skin, the form of the head it cannot lose with the same rapidity." He believes that there is no doubt that the language of the Matacos is the Toconoté spoken by the most numerous peoples of the Argentine and Bolivian Chacus. "It is curious that nearly all the names by which we know the indigenous tribes of the Americans are nicknames, like Guaranis for example, and the Matacos are no exception to the rule. The Tobas call themselves Ntoconitt, and the Matacos Uicquu. In the future, when it may be proven that the *cq* of the Mataco is a modification of *tt* perhaps it will be seen that *Uicq* and *Uitt* are nothing but variations of the same word meaning *Man*."

"The savage is eminently a man of conscience and complies with his duties with the regularity of a machine. It is the civilized man who has taught him to profess one faith and put in practice another."

The Matacos are still in contact with the descendants of the Spaniards on the frontier of Salta,

¹ *Hommes Fossiles et Hommes Sauvages*.

but on that of Tarija are known as *Noctenes*,¹ a corruption of *Octenai*, a name conferred by the Chiriguanos, and which appears to be a corruption of Héuennyei, which is the name the Mataguayos there give to themselves. According to a missionary who lived among them for many years the features and colour of the Mataguayos, Matacos and Noctenes are the same and differ but little from the Chiriguanos except much in customs and entirely in language. They do not like to form their settlements in the open country, but always prefer the cane-brakes and the forests. Their huts are round and about six feet high, and absolutely unclean. When the site gets full of fleas, other insects and filth, they burn the hut and build another near by.²

The men and women shave the head entirely with the sharp jaw of a fish. They pluck out the beard, eyebrows and lashes. For gala days, as well as to make themselves look formidable in war, they colour the forehead and chest with powdered charcoal.

¹ See *El Colegio Fco. de Farica*, op. cit.

² Some forty years ago, near Salta, I met a band of about fifty Matacos. They were the most unintelligent, dirtiest and degraded Indians I have ever seen. Their huts were extremely filthy. One old man seated in the ashes and nearly naked had a hide thong tied tightly round his chest, apparently to soften the effect of a bad cough. They had gone from the Chacu to work in a sugar plantation for a few weeks.

Their chosen food is fish, lacking which they eat wild fruits and roots which are not poisonous, and they also eat, without repugnance, lizards, locusts, crickets, rats and eggs, even when rotten. They sustain hunger admirably, and when they can get no other food they lie on the ground and eat any herb or leaf of the woods.

The Mataguayos are timid and cowardly, but extremely revengeful, and never forget an injury. They shun war, but defend themselves. Their ordinary arm is the arrow. They recognize no authority or law. A child obeys its parents if it likes. Although they love their children they have no control over them, but they hold old people in great respect. All the work falls on the women, who are simply slaves. They do not marry near relatives, and, at times, marry into other tribes, especially with the Tobas. Polygamy is extremely rare. Abortion is frequently practised and is procured by striking blows on the stomach. Sometimes they kill a nursing baby and inter it with the body of its mother so that it may continue to receive milk.

The *medicine men* are called *yegu*, and are respected and feared. When there is an epidemic, all the *yegus* assemble and, seated at a short distance from the huts, break into a melancholy chant, accompanying it with a rattle (the *maracá*), thus putting the pest to flight.

A common infirmity among them is the *sarna*, but that which makes the greatest ravages among them is pleurisy. When the patient is dying the *yegu* has him removed to the burial-place, and, to save him from his final agony, his friends drown him. They then place him in a deep grave, cover him with branches and grass on which they spread earth. Then returning to his hut, they break all the utensils it contains, take it down and rebuild it over his grave, around which his relatives gather and make a most lugubrious clamour.

CHAPTER IX

THE ABIPONES AND THE SOUTHERN TRIBES

THE *Abipones* now exist only in name. There were, perhaps, 5,000 of them left when Dobrizhoffer was among them about the middle of the eighteenth century. They occupied the country to the north of a line drawn from Santa Fé, on the river Paraná, to the Mar Chiquito and Cordoba. Their hordes sometimes crossed the Salado and disputed with the Mataguayo-Mataco and Mocobi-Toba tribes the possession of the Gran Chacu, although linguistically they could claim relationship with those tribes as well as with the Payagua-Guaycurú-Mbayá tribes. It is said that Abipones could be found in the territory of the Tobas towards the end of the seventeenth century. The Spaniards included them among the *Frentones*, because, in common with several other nations on the west side of the Paraná and Paraguay rivers, they increased the height of the forehead by shaving the whole *front* of the head. They may be grouped as a part of the great and warlike Guaycurú family, to

which it is believed that the Cacano, Calchaquies, Charruas, Agazes and others also belonged. The linguistic family which they represent is complicated beyond measure, and the mysteries of the dialects spoken by the tribes mentioned, as well as those of the extreme northern Chacu, seem almost to defy the ethnologist.

According to Padre Techo's account of the visit of Padre Juan Pastor to the Abipones in 1641, they were a finely-formed, muscular race. Their arms were the club, lance and arrow, but, in addition to these, they used the formidable weapon known as the *bolas*, common to the Patagonian and Pampean tribes. They painted the entire body and spotted it like a puma, to inspire terror, and the most esteemed among them wore ostrich feathers in the nose, lips and ears, pierced for the purpose. Baldness (artificial) was considered an adornment, and no one could occupy high rank unless he had killed an enemy. To attain this rank the Abipon had to undergo the severest torture to all parts of the body without signs of pain.

When a *Cacique* died they all changed their names, fasted for a month, and wept night and day. Fasting consisted in eating no fish, but all the meat obtainable. In a family, they killed all but two children, one of whom was cared for by the mother, the other by the father, the better

to prevent them from falling into the hands of enemies; but the parents were glad to rear other children so soon as the first two were able to take to the war-path.

Padre Lozano generalizes his description of the Chacu tribes, although selecting a few of the principal ones for special comment on their manners and customs. Dobrizhoffer¹ seems to have had great admiration for the Abipon. He tells us that the shape of this savage was perfect and without deformity or blemish; his small, black eyes had an immense range of vision. He was tall, had an aquiline nose, every hair on the face and body was plucked out, but he wore thick, raven-black locks which hung down his shoulders. In common with the Tobas, he plucked out the hair from his forehead to the crown of his head, and the baldness thus created was a religious mark of the nation. The heads of widows were shaved and they wore a black hood until married again. The head of a widower was cropped and he wore a little net-shaped hat until his hair grew once more. All the men cut off their hair to mourn the death of a *Cacique*.

¹ *An Account of the Abipones of Paraguay*, by P. Martin Dobrizhoffer, English trans. He was born at Gratz in Styria in 1717, and in 1736 entered the Jesuit order, went to South America in 1749 as a missionary, where for eleven years he officiated among the Guarani *reductions*, and seven years among the Abipones.

They preserved the tattooing customs of their ancestors, and also wore the *tembeta* and considered themselves well decorated when they had a brass pipe about the size of a goose-quill hanging from the lip to the breast, but this object made them look formidable on account of their great stature, and with their bodies painted in various colours and hair stained blood red. In one ear the wing of a vulture was fixed and strings of glass beads were hung round the neck, arms, knees and legs. They were great swimmers and bathed every day in lake or river. "Their boldness exceeds the belief of Europeans. From San Fernando to Corrientes they swam across that vast sea composed of the united streams of the great Paraguay and the great Paraná, with their horses swimming beside them."

They claimed that all the cattle of the Spaniards belonged to the Indians of right, because raised on the lands forcibly wrested from their ancestors.

As an example of how some savages greatly modify their language, the Abipones constantly abolished words and substituted new ones, this custom being due to their funeral rites and their dislike that anything should remind them of the dead, especially appellative words bearing any resemblance to the name of the deceased. Like many other tribes in various parts of South America, they had one language for use of the

warriors and a common tongue for the use of women.

On the death of one of the tribe, his friends took out his heart and tongue and gave them to a dog to devour, so that the author of his death might soon die also. They inter the body, wrapped in a hide, in a shallow grave, and fill it in with thorny boughs to keep off pumas. On the grave they place an inverted vessel that the defunct may have something to drink from in case of need, and they fixed a spear near by in the ground for his use in war and the chase. In case of the death of a *Cacique* they killed his best horses near the grave, a custom common to most of the Chacu equestrian tribes. If they could recover the body of one of their warriors killed in battle, they stripped it of flesh and sometimes carried the bones immense distances for burial, believing that the remains of a dead companion should rest among his ancestors.¹ All of their

¹ Humanity seems to share this instinct with other animals. Travellers have observed in Asia, Africa and elsewhere that many have their Golgotha, sought for from long distances at the approach of death. Guanacos notably, have dying-places in southern Patagonia and on the banks of the rivers Santa Cruz and Gallegos, where the bones of countless dead generations of them are found. Darwin and Fitzroy have observed this, and Hudson, in his *Naturalist in La Plata*, says: "It looks less like an instinct than the superstitious observance of human beings who have knowledge of death and believe in a continued existence after

obsequies for the dead show an intense love and regard for the deceased, in respect for whom they not only change all their own names but never mention his.

It may be inferred from a remark of Dobrizhoffer, that "History gives no account of the proceedings of the Abipones in the fifteenth century, before they settled in the Chacu," that they had previously occupied other lands, probably further to the south or west.

A careful study of the Abipones leads one to adopt the opinion of d'Orbigny, that "From their physical characteristics they cannot be separated from the Tobas; it is the same as regards their moral character, their customs, their language and their religion. With regard to the last, we even find intimate relationship with the Patagones and Puelches."

The present provinces of Catamarca, Tucuman and Salta were, at the date of the discovery, populated by various tribes which were slowly being taught to accept the language of Cuzco. The Incas had already established military colonies in Tucuman, and from the Andean districts of Alto Peru, Incarial subjects had

dissolution; of a tribe that in past times had conceived the idea that the liberated spirit is only able to find its way to its future abode by starting at death from the ancient dying-place of the tribe or family."

migrated as far south as the province of La Rioja.

In Catamarca, the languages were Quichua and Cacana, but the latter has left but little trace of its existence. Atacacuma tribes were found in the extreme north-eastern parts of the same province. It appears that Cacana was spoken by the Calchaquies and Diaquitas throughout the valley of Catamarca and over a large part of La Rioja, and among tribes of the neighbouring districts among the sierras and lowlands. The Diaquita territory consisted of all the valleys of the upper river Saladillo and part of the west of Ambato, and also a part of south-eastern Tucuman.

There was also an important people called the Toconotés, which it is known had given their language to many inferior tribes extending from San Miguel del Tucuman to the Rio Bermejo and nearly the whole line of the Rio Salado. Their dialect belonged to the Mataco-Mataguayo group of languages. Lozano, in his *Gran Chacu Gubamba*, divides the Toconotés into "Great Lules" and "Small Lules," the latter maintaining the distinctive name of Lules, but the former having three divisions, the Toquistinés, Yxistinés and Oxistinés; the Great and Small being relentless enemies. Padre Barcena (1594) maintains that the missionaries employed the

Toconoté tongue to convert a great part of the Lules, who were wild nomads who roamed far and wide over the western Chacu, the flail of other tribes. They were, however, affiliated with the Toba fraction of the Guaycurús, and were composed of diverse, but consanguineous tribes, all understanding the Toconoté language.

Although the Quichua tongue was spread as far south as Catamarca, La Rioja and Santiago del Estero, it is probable that its extension was more generalized by the Jesuits than by the Incas; for when the missionaries first penetrated these regions they found that they had also become the refuge of many tribes who had sought protection there from the domination of the Spanish conquerors during the first century after the conquest.

The whole north-western part of Argentina offers a field for ethnological study, probably not exceeded in importance and interest by any other equal area of South America. Vestiges are found there of a numerous race which existed long anterior to Incarial times, and who had subdued or driven out its previous inhabitants of the Stone age. In the province of San Juan even troglodyte caves are to be seen; in the provinces farther to the north are numberless ruins of towns and cemeteries of great age, while the numerous and extensive fortifications

scattered over the country speak of the existence of a people of remote times who had attained a certain degree of advancement, but who evidently found it necessary to protect themselves against attack from their savage neighbours.

The Spaniards found many such ruins of ancient edifices throughout Catamarca which bore no resemblance to those of Peru, and which had been built by a race that had been conquered by the warlike Calchaquies, who had submitted to Incarial rule or influences. The Calchaquies occupied nearly the entire province of Catamarca, the eastern part of Tucuman and the whole west and north-west of Salta. Between the years 1536 and 1550 these formidable warriors met, and disastrously defeated, three Spanish armies sent to subdue them, and for a century afterwards they warred against their invaders with varying fortunes until finally, in 1664, the last tribe of them surrendered and were expatriated to the vicinity of the city of Buenos Ayres, where they gave their name to the locality of their settlement, known as Quilmes.

Ameghino¹ gives us some account of this valiant race: Their country was well supplied with roads, their houses were built of stone or of rushes and straw. Their *Caciques* were elected by the notables, but, as a formality,

¹ *Op. cit.*

their principal chiefs were confirmed by the Incas to whom they gave a mild form of voluntary allegiance.

Although they worshipped the sun they had many idols, especially little ones which they hung to their necks.

When a Calchaqui fell ill, his relatives remained near him during the entire period of his illness, and, around his bed, they stuck many arrows to keep death away. If he died, they buried him in a funeral urn (a custom not usual in Peru) with his domestic animals, his clothing and many objects; then they burned the house; for they held the place to be one of death which might return.

Their bows were the height of the men who used them, but they also made use of spherical *bolas* beautifully polished.

Their pots, jars and dishes were finely modelled in various forms and capriciously painted in bright colours, and were not inferior to those of Peru; and they sculptured great stone idols, fantastic human and animal figures, square and circular fonts, large stone globes and two kinds of stone hatchets, many mortars, some of which were cut in solid rock and others of separate stones adorned with curious reliefs of animals and monsters, and double-headed lizards.

The wool and cotton fabrics which they

skilfully manufactured were dyed with vegetable colours.

Beside some human remains found in an ancient grave in Catamarca was a small pot of toasted maize in a perfect state of preservation, its flavour perfectly preserved, and according to an accepted legend among the actual inhabitants of those districts, this food was destined for the defunct during his voyage to the seaside, where he would return to life.

THE MOLUCHE OR ARAUCANIAN RACE

To account for the distinctive characteristics of the Chacu tribes in comparison to their Caraio neighbours it is necessary to take note of the Araucanos and Patagonians, both of which names are of Spanish origin. The former call themselves Moluches or warriors, from *molun*, to "wage war." The Spanish name given to them is one of reproach, meaning wild, savage, rebel, or bandit.

According to Padre Falkner,¹ the Moluches held both the Pacific and Atlantic slopes of the Andes from the confines of Peru to the Straits of Magellan. Their people included three grand divisions—the Picunches, Pehuenches and Huilliches. The first were the "*Northern people*," from *picun*, "north,"

¹ *A Description of Patagonia and the adjoining parts of South America*, by Thomas Falkner, 1774. From 1740 to 1767 he lived many years among the Patagonian tribes.

and *che*, "people," and extended from Coquimbo to a little south of Santiago in Chile. "They were the most valiant and the biggest bodied men of all the Moluches, especially those to the west of the cordillera."

South of these were those of the second division, the Pehuenches, or *Pine tree* people, whose territory reached Valdivia and a little beyond; and thence to the Straits of Magellan were the Huilliches, who were divided into four tribes—the first, the Huilliches proper, extended to Chiloe and lake Nahuelhuapi and spoke Araucanian; the second the Chonos, possessed the archipelago of Chiloe; the third, the Poy-yuss or Payes, were between lat. 48° and 51°, and thence to the Straits were the Kay-yus or Kayes. These last were also known as Vutu (or big) Huilliches, because larger in body than the others called Pichi (or small) Huilliches. The language of the Big Huilliches was a mixture of Moluche and Tehuelche.

The Moluches of the Pacific slope of the Andes called their kindred of the Atlantic side *Puelches* or Eastern people.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, the northern limit of the Puelches was roughly a line drawn from Coquimbo to Cordoba and thence to Buenos Ayres and east to the Atlantic ocean. The Puelches bore different names according to locality; those to the north were called Taluhets,

(*het* meaning people); west and south of these were the Diuihets, and to the south-east were the Chechehets, and south of these last were the Tehuelhets, Tehuelches or Patagones, as they are called in Europe.

A greater part of the Taluhets were destroyed in inter-tribal wars and wars with the Mocovies. There were formerly some of them on the rivers Lujan and Conchas near the site of the city of Buenos Ayres. Together with the Diuihets they were known to the Spaniards as Pampas.

The Diuihets had the Pehuenches as neighbours on the west from 35° to 38° of latitude, and extended their wanderings along the Sanquel and Colorado rivers and northward to Cordoba and east to the Plata estuary.

The Chechehets roamed along the valleys of the rivers Colorado and Negro and through the Pampas of Buenos Ayres eastward to the sea. Although of a pacific disposition, they were bold and active in war.

The Tehuelhets occupied the western part of the great Patagonian plain and the eastern foothills of the Andes. They were the most restless and nomadic race of South America and, at times, made warlike excursions a thousand miles to the north-east. Falkner says of them that "neither extreme old age, blindness, nor any other distemper, prevented them from indulging this inclination

to wander. They are a very strong, well-made people and not so tawny as the other Indians; some of their women are even as white as the Spaniards. They are courteous, obliging and good-natured, but very inconstant and not to be relied on in their promises and engagements. They are stout, warlike and fearless of death, are by much the most numerous of all the Indian nations of these parts, and are as many as all the rest put together. They are the enemies of the Moluches and are extremely feared by them, and if they had been as well provided with horses as the Moluches, the latter, who are so terrible to the Spaniards, would have been long since destroyed.

“All the Tehuelhets speak a different language from the other Puelches and the Moluches.”

When the chiefs of the principal tribe of the Tehuelhets declared war they were at once joined by the other Tehuelhets and by the Chechehets and Huilliches and by those Pehuenches who live most to the south a little lower than Valdivia.

All the tribes of the Tehuelhets were, by the Moluches, called Vucha-Huilliches or Great Southern people. They called themselves Tehuel-Kunny, meaning the same thing.

Owing to the treacherous slaughter of a band of friendly Huilliches by the Spaniards in 1740, near the Vuulcan (opening) mountains in the

south-east part of the province of Buenos Ayres, the Tehuelches, joined by the Huilliches and Pehuenches, made a series of well-organized forays against the whole Spanish frontier from Cordoba to the southern side of the Plata estuary and to within four leagues of the city of Buenos Ayres. They blotted out the farms and cattle estates over a length of many hundred miles, desolating the country, killing the Spanish settlers, capturing their women and children and twenty thousand head of cattle and many horses. The Spaniards being properly punished, sued for and obtained terms of peace.

Again, in 1767, the Indians, under renewed provocation, again entered the field and swept off numerous herds of cattle. Of two parties of Spaniards who pursued them only ten men escaped.

In 1832-33, General Rosas marched southward from Buenos Ayres, crossed the Colorado and reached the Rio Negro, massacring the Indians by hundreds along his route and inflicting on them a blow which they long remembered, but from which they slowly recovered and repaid with their customary savage ferocity.

In 1847, the last *estancias* towards the south reached the Quequen Grande, in the district of Toberia, and up to 1850 the settlers had already covered the country with hundreds of thousands

of cattle for a distance of eighty leagues to the south of the city of Buenos Ayres; but from year to year the Indians harassed their estates, drove off their herds and kept the whole frontier in terror, slowly gaining ground to the northward, until, in 1852, they actually proposed to make a treaty with the Government to recognize the Saladillo river, about thirty leagues to the south of the Plata river, as the boundary line between the Argentine and Indian territory.

Up to about 1878-80 they made continuous raids against the outlying estates, until the Argentine Government organized a strong expedition under General Roca, and drove them back to the south of the rivers Colorado and Negro.

The vast numbers of horned cattle and horses which the Indians captured they generally drove through the low pass in the Andes (4,920 feet above sea-level) at the head-waters of the Rio Negro, and sold them in Valdivia, which carried on, the same as in colonial times, an extensive European trade in hides bearing the brands of the Buenos Ayrean *estancieros*.

It may be of interest to give my personal experience of one of these Indian raids: In 1858 I was the junior member of a "Scientific Commission," organized by the provincial Government of Buenos Ayres to explore its southwestern frontier and devise a system of defence

against the inroads of the savages. After riding several thousand miles, we terminated our field-work and found ourselves at the then convict settlement of Bahia Blanca, preparatory to embarking for the Rio de la Plata. The town then contained not more than 1,200 inhabitants. It consisted almost entirely of *adobe* houses built round a plaza about 600 feet square. On one side of this was Fort Argentina, a polygon 282 yards in diameter with twenty-four sides. It was a bastioned work, originally of burnt bricks and constructed in 1828-31 by M. Parchappe, a French engineer, afterwards employed by the French Government in Algeria. It was completely dilapidated when I saw it, but its walls had been repaired with *adobes*. The ditch was filled with rubbish, sand and dirt. A good horseman could spur over ditch and rampart. A single gun of light calibre, mounted on its southwestern parapet, was the only warlike implement in sight, with exception of the swords and old muskets with which about a dozen soldiers of the garrison were armed. Within the *enceinte*, a number of huts served as a shelter for convict prisoners and for the townspeople in the event of an Indian attack. In the town, about twenty *pulperias* did a good retail business in bad rum. On one side of the plaza was a half-ruined church. The good Padre's only pride was two broken

bells which called the few repentant sinners of the town to prayers. Some little vegetable gardens, irrigated from the river Naposta, were to be seen in the northern and western suburbs, and several Government and private *corrals* or cattle-pens at various points. During the rule of Rosas a ditch had been cut from a point, on the east branch of the Naposta, in a south-west direction to the bay, and an embankment thrown up on the town side. The river water being turned into the ditch, formed an effectual protection against the Indians who might attack from the south-west. But, in 1859, this work was all in ruins, as well as the wire fences which had been stretched across all the entrances to the town.

The sole support of the inhabitants was derived from the 400 troops, mostly cavalry, who served as a defensive force against the Indians.

Such was the condition of this outpost of civilization when, on the 19th of May, 1859, a turbulent wave of 1,500 splendidly mounted savages, of Puelche, Patagonian and southern Araucanian tribes, broke in upon it by moonlight about three o'clock in the morning. Their tactics were by no means unintelligent; they first quietly surrounded the town, possessed themselves of all its outlets, and proceeded to gather their harvest. They collected all of the droves

of horned cattle which were feeding in the vicinity and from the various *corrals*, making up a herd of about 5,000 all told, including 2,000 horses, leaving only a few miserable brutes unable to keep up with the mass in the flight across the desert. All this they did without disturbing the sleepy garrison. By the time they awoke, a contingent of the savages, with the plundered wealth, was pushing south-westward with all speed towards the far-distant fords of the Rio Negro at the island of Choele Choel, their usual crossing place.

Suddenly an alarm-gun from the fort awakened the drowsy denizens of the town, and the troops rushed in disorder to the plaza and the streets armed with old Tower muskets and sabres. The Indians were almost naked, but a few had shirts on. They were mounted bare-back on superb horses bridled by a thong tied round the lower jaw. Their arms were long lances and *bolas*.

Thus far, they had done their work with stealthy quietness, so as to give as much start as possible to the captured herds; but, when the alarm-gun sounded, their tactics changed, and they let loose the spirit of revenge "for wrongs unpunished and for debts unpaid." With shout and whoop and infernal yells, and quivering lance and swinging *bolas*, the wild warriors

charged down the streets towards the plaza, where I soon found myself taking part in what resembled from its irregularity a vast tiger fight. It seemed as if all the fiends from hell had broken loose, and to add to the terrors of the night the savages had fired the town, and the lurid flames and smoke mingled with the moonlight, threw uncanny lights and shades over the scene. It was a hand-to-hand fight where quarter was neither asked, nor given, nor expected. How splendidly the Indians rode and fought! Several times I stopped to admire their courage and horsemanship, which almost irresistibly impelled me to take sides with them.

The battle lasted until daybreak, when they retired to the base of an amphitheatre of hills within sight of the western outskirts of the town. There they halted to rest. They had left sixty-two of their number dead in the streets and plaza, but had taken all of their wounded with them.

They were supposed to be under the leadership of the renowned chief Calficurá. He certainly handled his forces with skill and forethought, and the fact that he remained resting for several hours within easy reach of the town, as if challenging a fight in the open, shows the contempt in which he held his foe. We saw his warriors take their midday meal, about 1,200 of them,

as nearly as I could judge, their horses feeding near them. They evidently delayed their departure to give as long a start as possible to the detachment which was driving their booty inland. About mid-afternoon all of them mounted their horses, and in open order faced the town in a long single line. We thought that it meant another assault; but, no, they gave us the best circus performance I have ever witnessed. The two wings faced inward to the centre, and at a given signal each wing rode past the other at a tearing gallop. Then they reversed the movement and returned to their original position in line. This manœuvre they repeated several times with *colas* whirling and lances waving as if preliminary to a charge. Sometimes the riders were erect on their horses and at others only the head of the Indian could be seen under the horse's neck, his body being completely concealed. After this display of fine horsemanship, the whole line broke to the rear in twos from the centre, and rode over the hills to the west. Slowly the mysterious desert seemed to absorb its wild children and put its protecting arms round them, and, as the last one disappeared across the threshold of his home, a far-off memory told me that, as I had become civilized, I had left behind me not a few savage virtues and many grand sensations.

The Indians killed at Bahia Blanca were finely made, muscular men of medium height, full, rounded chest, broad shoulders, small wrists and beautifully shaped hands and feet, the former with tapering fingers and long finger-nails. Coarse, matted, black hair covered their heads and hung loosely over their low foreheads. They had high cheekbones and large, savage-looking mouths—the head of a devil united to the body of a god.

The Indians when attacking but one man with their lances ride in single file. If the first misses him he passes on and turns in a long circle, and so the attack is continued by the others.

When on a long and rapid war expedition, they cut the lungs from a mare or a bovine animal and blow them full of salt through the trachea, then hang them to the horse's mane and appease their hunger as they gallop on.

Each family of the Moluches and Puelches had its *totem* or coat of arms—the tiger, lion, guanaco, ostrich, etc. They have numerous deities.

Their wizards were of both sexes, and it is remarkable that they used the *maracá*, which they said told them many secrets and made all they said oracular. Each wizard had two demons, the souls of dead sorcerers, in attendance on him and these gave him clairvoyant powers not only as to what was passing elsewhere but regarding

future events, and also to cure the sick by driving off the demons who tormented them.

When one of the tribe died, a distinguished woman was selected to make a skeleton of him. The bones were stripped and buried, then taken up within a year, cleansed and removed to the ancestral burial-place. This custom was strictly observed by the Moluches and Diuihets, but the Chechehets and Tehuelhets or Patagones, place the skeleton high above ground, on canes and twigs to whiten in the sun and rain.

The horses of the deceased were killed so that he might be able to ride through the "Country of the Dead."

When the bones were removed they were packed in a hide and taken on a favourite horse of the defunct, properly decorated, to the final burial-place, even if it were three hundred leagues distant where the last ceremony was performed.

The Moluches, Jaluhets and Diuihets buried their dead in a square pit about six feet deep: the bones were fastened together in their natural position, then clothed and adorned with beads and feathers. The skeletons were placed in a row in a sitting posture, with the lance, bow and arrows, *bolos* and other properties of the departed. The pits were covered with tree trunks and a woven mat of cane and twigs, which was then topped with earth.

An old matron was chosen from each tribe to take care of these graves and she was held in great veneration. Every year it was her duty to open these dreary habitations and to clean and clothe the skeletons. Every year newly made *chicha* was poured on the graves and the good health of the dead was drunk, generally the sepulchres were near their usual habitations and round the former the dead horses of the deceased were placed, raised on their feet and supported by sticks.

The Patagonians differed somewhat from the other Indians; they dried the skeletons and carried them a great distance from their habitations into the desert by the sea coast, and set them, duly adorned, in order above ground under a hut or tent surrounded also by the skeletons of their horses.

The office of *Cacique* was hereditary not elective, and the sons of *Caciques* could assume the dignity if they could get followers. The *Cacique* decided differences and punished offences. He harangued the tribe on their behaviour and their injuries and how they should avenge them. He extolled his own prowess and if not sufficiently eloquent had an orator who supplied his place.¹ War was decided by a council of the principal Indians and

¹ Luis de la Cruz says that the Pehuenches were very fond of oratory and greatly admired any speaker who made elegant use of their language; and other travellers have noted the inclination of the *Caciques* of Tehuelhets to make long speeches to their followers.

the wizards. When for the purpose of a general war alliances were made an *Apo* or Commander-in-Chief was chosen.

The *Caciques* could levy no contributions, and if any Indian did not like his chief he could seek the protection of another, but every Indian, under penalty of slavery, had to submit to a *Cacique*. If war was made by the Moluches and Puelches against the Spaniards of Buenos Ayres, the Puelches chose the *Apo*; but if against the Spaniards in Chile, the choice of *Apo* belonged to the Moluches.

The Indian purchased his wife of her parents, and seldom had more than one, despite his right to buy as many as he could support.

They reared their children in absolute indulgence of every whim.

Their arms were bows and arrows, lances of a species of solid bamboo four to five yards long and *bolas*. On foot, they used a square bull's-hide shield. They also wore a helmet of bull's-hide, and a tunic of Auta hide, which was arrow and lance-proof.

Luis de la Cruz, in his account of his residence among the Pehuenches¹ (1806), says that they paint their faces in different designs, according to the taste of the individual, red, black, blue and white. Their skin is naturally black,

¹ See *Pedro de Angelis*, i. 1.

inclining to red; their average height about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the face round, nose usually flat, mouth better made and smaller than that of the Peruvian. The teeth white and hard, legs muscular and well formed, feet and hands small, hair abundant. Many octogenarians retain all their hair and teeth, and their features remain unaltered. They are selfish, suspicious and malicious.

The *Cacique* has no authority either to reward or punish, and they yield him no respect, except for his personal prowess and his deeds.

It appears that the Pehuenches varied their burial customs somewhat from the other tribes, although in principle and sentiment the same. On the death of one of their number they fastened his body in a sitting posture to his best horse, and, followed by another horse carrying his effects, they took him to the sepulchre of his ancestors, where, moving the old bones to one side, they laid him on a rough bed and covered him from breast to feet. Near at hand they placed the bridle of his horse, his saddle, spurs, *machete* and pots of food, spoon, jars of water and *chicha*, if they had any. They then placed a covering of twigs over him, and on this a horsehide, which they covered with earth. The horses which took him and his effects to the grave they killed and left near by.

In case of the death of a very important member of the tribe the ceremonies were much more elaborate.

In this account of 1806, as well as in that of Padre Falkner, it is interesting to note the changes which the introduction of the horse made in the customs of the tribes.

In the various accounts of Patagonia extant numerous tribes are recorded in addition to those named by Padre Falkner, which are, no doubt, the most trustworthy. Here, as elsewhere in South America, the confused list seems to have arisen from the custom of small parties of Indians combining to hunt or fight under a particular chief, and describing themselves, when met, by his name and as his men.

Musters,¹ who learned the language of the Tehuelhets, describes them as altogether distinct in race, language and character from the Araucanians and Pampas Indians.² He divides them into two great sections—the northern and southern, with a slight difference in accent, but

¹ Captain Musters, whose acquaintance I made at Sucre, Bolivia, in 1872, gives us a most valuable account of his "year's wanderings over untrodden ground from the Straits of Magellan to the Rio Negro." He joined a tribe of the Tehuelhets (Tehuelches) and was the first white man to ride from north to south through the heart of Patagonia.

² See *At Home with the Patagonians*, by George Chaworth Musters: London, 1871.

speaking the same tongue. But the southern were taller and finer men than the northern, and more expert hunters with the *bolos*. The northern Tehuelches roamed over the district between the cordillera and the sea, from the upper Rio Negro to the Chupat, and, at times, as far south as the Santa Cruz river. The southern portion extended from the latter stream to Punta Arenas, on the Straits of Magellan. The two sections of the race were much intermixed and frequently intermarried, although they always preserved their clannish divisions and opposed each other in frequent quarrels.

The Pampas Indians had their headquarters at the salinas north of the Rio Negro, and extended south to the Chupat. The Tehuelches called them *Penck*. Several clans of this nation wandered over the plains north of the Rio Negro, and made frequent forays against the Argentine settlements as far north as Santa Fé, Cordova and Mendoza.

A third tribe appeared, by their language and physique, to be a branch of the Araucanians of Chile. The Tehuelches called them *Cherma*. They were less migratory and more civilized than the Tehuelches. Their habitat was north-east of and near lake Nahuel-Huapi, and the authority of their chief extended north as far as Mendoza and was absolute. These were

evidently the Pehuenches described by Padre Falkner and Luis de la Cruz, and owed their superior civilization to their long contact with the Spaniard.

Musters found them superior as warriors to the Tehuelches, "and even at the time of our visit to them they had Tehuelche slaves." A party of young Pampas Indians whom he met were of mixed Tehuelche and Pampa blood. They were of a different type from the Tehuelches, generally shorter, although as muscular and apparently more broadly built, and of lighter complexion, cleaner and smarter in their persons.

It is evident that these various tribes had a close relationship with each other, and that they frequently united for warlike purposes as well as for raids against the Spanish settlements, for, while Musters, with his party of Tehuelches, was with the Araucanians (Pehuenches) of the upper Rio Negro, a message arrived from Calficura, the great chief of the Pampas, encamped at Salinas, inviting the Araucanians and Tehuelches to join him in a foray against the Buenos Ayrean frontier, saying literally, "My horse is ready, my foot is in the stirrup, my lance is in my hand, and I go to make war against these Christians, who tire me out with their falseness."

The Tehuelche had great strength of arm. His instep was very high, his complexion a

reddish-brown. He carefully plucked out his scanty beard, moustache and eyebrows. He was neat and cleanly, especially in his tent, and was fond of bathing, even in an icy cold river, and was a powerful swimmer and good diver. Both sexes smeared their faces with paint as a protection against their being chapped by the wind. The paint was made of red ochre or black earth mixed with grease from the marrow-bones of game; but for a birthday, dance or feast they adorned themselves with white paint or powdered gypsum, which they rubbed on their hands, and with them made five white finger-marks on the chest, arms and legs.

The women secured their mantle at the throat by a large silver pin with a broad disk.¹

On the birth of a child, the doctor or wizard of the tribe bleeds himself with bodkins in the temple, fore-arm or leg. Mares are slaughtered, a feast is given, and a dance follows. The child, shortly after birth, is smeared over with damp gypsum. The mother is able to travel on horse-back the same day or the following one, and the child is most tenderly cared for by the parents.²

¹ This fact is of great interest, for the custom must have reached Patagonia from Peru. All the Quichua and Aymara women wear the same ornament even at the present time, but sometimes the pin has a spoon-shaped end instead of a disk.

² This vigour of the Patagonian Indian woman reminds me of that of her Mexican sister. When I was campaigning

Nicknames among the Tehuelches were universal, and there were no hereditary names. The men treated their wives with great kindness and affection, and, like all South American tribes, were exceedingly indulgent to their children.

No arrow-heads were found south of the Rio Negro, where they abound. The Tehuelche lance was entirely different from the Araucanian or Pampean, and only used when fighting on foot. It was a shaft of strong bamboo cane about 18 feet long, with a blade 18 inches in length. Their favourite weapon for war or the chase was the *bola*.¹

with Juarez against Maximilian, we left Chihuahua for Durango, escorted by sixty-two cavalymen and officers. Their wives and sweethearts, numbering perhaps three dozen all told, marched on foot. We started from the former city on the 10th December, 1866, and reached the latter on the 26th of the same month. The distance by road was about 600 miles, and when we arrived at the city of Durango the women belonging to our escort were all there waiting for us. During the journey, they could be seen every day scouring the country a mile or two on either flank, foraging for their husbands, as we had a very meagre commissariat. *En route*, one of the women gave birth to a child. A companion put it in a shawl over her shoulder, and the mother continued trotting along, and reached Durango with the rest.

¹ On the Scientific Expedition mentioned on p. 273 I took many lessons of the Gauchos in the use of this weapon, and realized how formidable it might be in expert hands. It was at the time of the conquest used by all of the tribes which occupied the open areas of the Plata country, from

Among the Tehuelches, they called the evil spirit *gualichu* and made propitiatory offerings

its northern frontier to the Straits of Magellan. Later it was adopted by the Argentine "cow-boy," the Gaucho, as a most efficacious arm for capturing any quadruped.

The *bolas* were also extensively used by the Indian tribes of Uruguay and the southern part of Rio Grande do Sul, in Brazil, and in these districts the grooved *bola* is occasionally found. It is a sphere or spheroid with a groove cut round it, and is often met with on the plains of central Patagonia, where, when they find one, the Indians treasure it as the weapon used by their ancestors.

There were many forms and sizes of *bolas*, but, in general, they may be reduced to three, and consisted of three thongs made of hide, or of ostrich or guanaco sinews, plaited in four plaits, and about seven or eight feet in length. At one of the ends of each thong a globular stone, about the size of a billiard ball, was suspended in a hide bag and the other ends were united. This set of *bolas* was used principally for hunting the guanaco, deer, puma and any large game. By holding one *bola* in the hand, the others were swung round the head with great velocity while running or on horseback, and, from a short distance, launched at the animal it was sought to capture. I have seen a powerful Gaucho bring down a horse at a distance of fifty yards or more. The weapon, when it leaves the hand, revolves in a circle, each thong 120° distant from the others, the circle thus covering a diameter of from 14 to 16 feet. Whenever one of the balls is arrested by an obstacle the whole three wind so tightly round it that it is frequently quite difficult to disentangle them. A wild bull or a horse having his legs thus ensnared drops helpless to the ground.

For hunting ostriches, a single thong, with a *bola* at each end, was used. Musters says it was not an uncommon feat for an Indian to bring down an ostrich at a distance of more than 70 yards. A third form was the *bola perdida* (the lost *bola*), because it was generally used but once. It

to him. The *gualichu*, says Musters, waited outside of the *toldo* (tent) and was prevented from molesting the inmates by the spells of the sorcerer, but he enters into different parts of the bodies of the people and causes illness which the wizard cures. In case of a headache the doctor takes the patient's head between his knees and, after certain incantations, shouts in his ear exhorting the devil to come out. There are many forms of *gualichus*, who live in woods, rivers, among rocks and in subterranean places.

“The religion of the Tehuelches is distinguished from that of the Araucanians and Pampas by the absence of any trace of sun worship.” . . . “There is no doubt that they do believe in a good Spirit, though they think he lives ‘careless of mankind.’ They have no idols or objects of worship nor—if a year's experience can enable one to judge—do they observe any periodical religious festival on which either the good or evil Spirit is adored. The mention of this by other travellers can only be explained by confused accounts which have attributed Araucanian customs to the totally distinct Patagonians.”

was a sharp-pointed stone covered with hide, except the point, and attached to a thong about three feet long, with a knot at the end, so that it might not slip from the hand. It was a deadly missile in the hands of a skilful savage, and was principally used in warfare.

As regards the Tsoneca language spoken by the northern Tehuelches, Musters remarks, "It is needful to state most distinctly that it is altogether different from either Pampa or Araucanian. Though able to converse in Tehuelche, I could not at all understand the Pampas." At that time the number of the pure Tehuelches, both Northern and Southern, in Patagonia did not exceed 1,500 men, women and children, according to a careful computation.

On the death of a Tehuelche all of his dogs and other animals were killed and all of his belongings placed in a heap and burned. The body was sewn up in a mantle and buried in a sitting posture, its face to the east, and a cairn of stones was erected over the grave. Their idea was that the dead should be completely forgotten, although as they passed the cairn of a distinguished chief or hero they added a stone to it.

Summarizing his opinion of the Tehuelches, Musters says, "They certainly do not deserve the epithets of ferocious savages, brigands of the desert, etc. They are kindly, good-tempered, impulsive children of nature, taking great likes or dislikes, becoming firm friends or equally confirmed enemies. . . . Don't give yourself airs of superiority, as they do not understand it. . . . As you treat them so they will treat you."

The constant union of the Moluche tribes of

southern Chile with the Puelches of the Atlantic slopes of the Andes for the purpose of hunting or for warlike expeditions seems to indicate a very close racial kinship between them. Prior to the conquest, as the Indians were all on foot, tribal inter-communication was attended with great difficulties, and a combination of several thousand Indians for a distant expedition must have been almost impossible, for this required the accumulation, preparation and transportation of supplies through an enemy's country by means which did not exist. The necessities of the food quest, whether in time of war or peace, must have forced them to divide their tribes into very small groups or even into single families, the quantity of game in any given area of country dictating the size of the group and the extent of its nomadic movements, and limiting the power of the savage to improve his social status. They fed almost entirely on game, such as the guanaco, deer and a few smaller animals, ostriches and aquatic birds, and a few rodents. All of these they were obliged to follow ceaselessly, as they changed their feeding ground according to the seasons and rains, droughts, inundations, winds and other natural causes. Consequently the life of these hunters must have been nomadic to the highest degree.

Under such conditions racial culture was kept

at its lowest grade, and the whole intellect of the individual was devoted to the one problem of inventing hunting implements and reducing the impedimenta of the family to a minimum as it roamed over the Pampas or the arid wastes of Patagonia. No invention was of any value which might reduce the rapidity of the movements of this savage; for his existence depended on his speed as a hunter. He must have been one of the most rapid runners in the world to capture such game, and his life made him an athlete probably superior in physique to any other Indian of South America. Of course such a struggle for existence developed in him a courage, strength and endurance which made him a formidable adversary, willing and even eager to try conclusions in the open against all comers.

But the Spaniard arrived on the scene, and with him the horse.

The horse was introduced into the Pampas of Buenos Ayres by the great expedition of Pedro de Mendoza (1535-6). Five mares and six stallions were the first which were turned loose, and, together with others which were lost or strayed, they multiplied with geometric rapidity, and, before the end of the sixteenth century, vast herds of them roamed over the plains.¹

¹ Padre Falkner comments on the marvellous increase in their number :—"The wild horses have no owners, but

During the government of Hernando Arias de Saavedra, soon after the conquest, 100 horned cattle and two troops of stallions and mares were disembarked on the coast of Uruguay, and before many years had passed they had so increased in numbers that they obstructed the roads, and travellers had to drive them off. Their multitude was such that, in the year 1700, a bull was worth but two *reals* (about a shilling), a horse one *real*, and a mare half a *real*, or three

wander in great troops about those vast plains which are terminated to the eastward by the province of Buenos Ayres, and the ocean as far as the mouth of the Red river (the Colorado); to the westward, by the mountains of Chile and the first Desaguadero; to the north, by the mountains of Cordova, Yacanto and Rioja; and to the south by the woods which are the boundaries of the Tehuelhets and Diuihets. They go from place to place against the current of the winds, and in an inland expedition which I made in 1744, being in these plains for the space of three weeks, they were in such vast numbers that, during a fortnight, they continually surrounded me. Sometimes they passed by me in thick troops on full speed, for two or three hours together, during which time it was with great difficulty that I, and the four Indians who accompanied me on this occasion, preserved ourselves from being run over and trampled to pieces by them."

The country just back of the Atlantic coast of Buenos Ayres was a famous hunting-ground of the Indians. "It swarmed with an incredible number of wild horses, and on this account the Tehuelhets, Chechehets, and sometimes all the tribes of the Puelches and Moluches, assembled here to get their stock of provisions. . . . When they have taken what is sufficient they return to their respective countries."

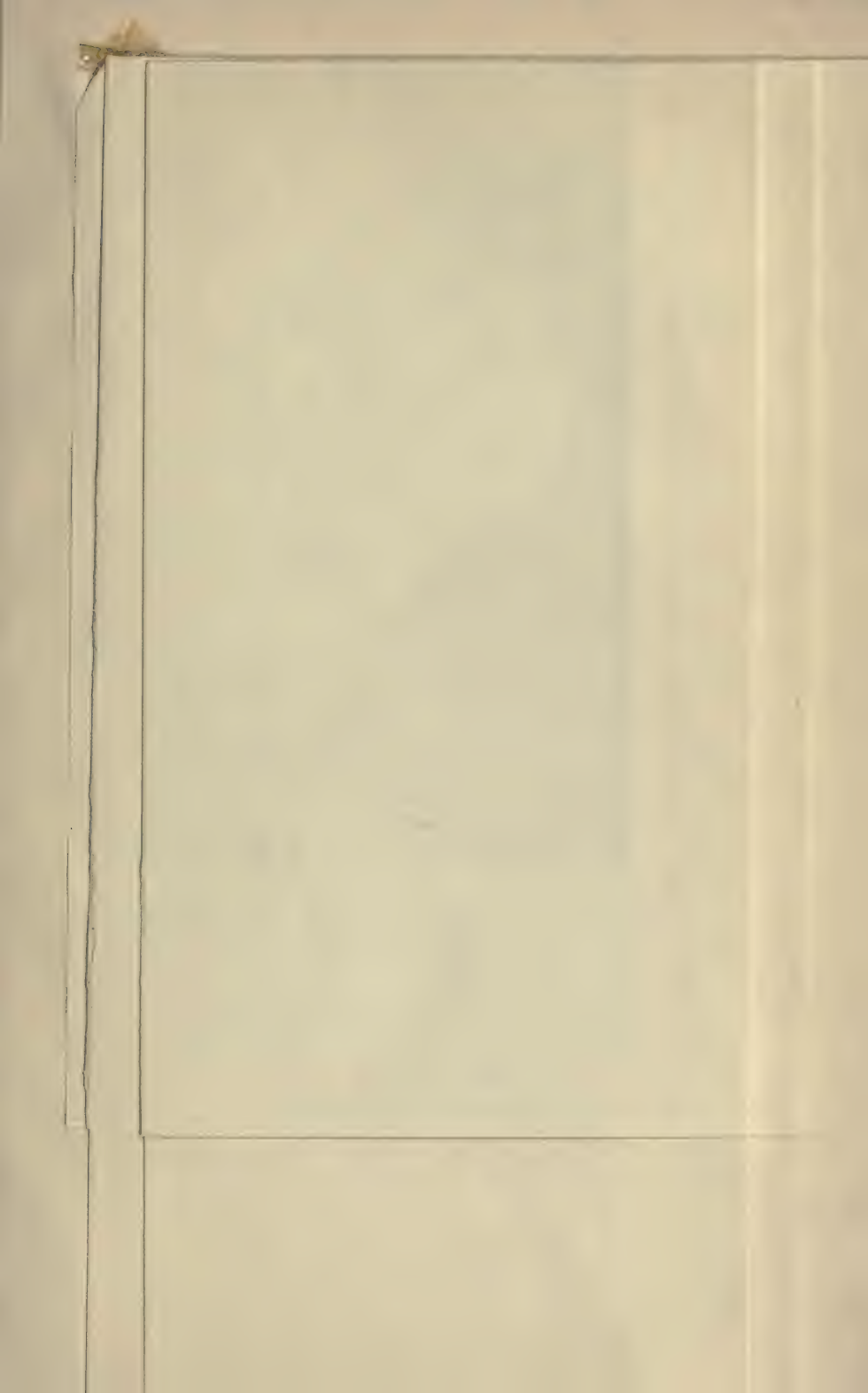
pence. Finally they became so abundant that they belonged to anybody who would kill them.

Naturally, as they increased in numbers, the Indians became possessed of them and learned their use. Not only did they acquire them from the wild herds, but from the *estancias* of the Spanish settlers. Lozano (1733) says that the Chacu tribes, in twenty years, captured more than 15,000 horses from the Spaniards, and that they soon became such expert riders that they excelled the Spaniards in horsemanship. With the aid of a lance, and with the horse at full gallop, they vaulted on his back from either side and from behind.

The horse appears to have radically changed the habits, customs and modes of life of the Pampean tribes. With him as an adjunct to their own matchless physical powers and endurance they began to look far afield. They found that he greatly facilitated the food quest, made it possible to concentrate the tribal sections into masses, and to make tribal combinations for war which, with his aid, could be carried to far outlying regions which they had never before penetrated. Their little home properties and tent comforts could be increased and were no longer impedimenta on the march. To invent or acquire these awakened their dormant intellectual powers. The horse, in fact, caused

the Indian to extend his lines of thought, learn something of the life and habits of distant peoples, exchange ideas with them, plunder or trade with them—in short, take the initial steps in civilization.¹

¹ Without the aid of the horse, it may be doubted if mankind could have emerged from barbarism, and when his strength was utilized to move the wheel and axle (the greatest invention ever made) civilization was assured.





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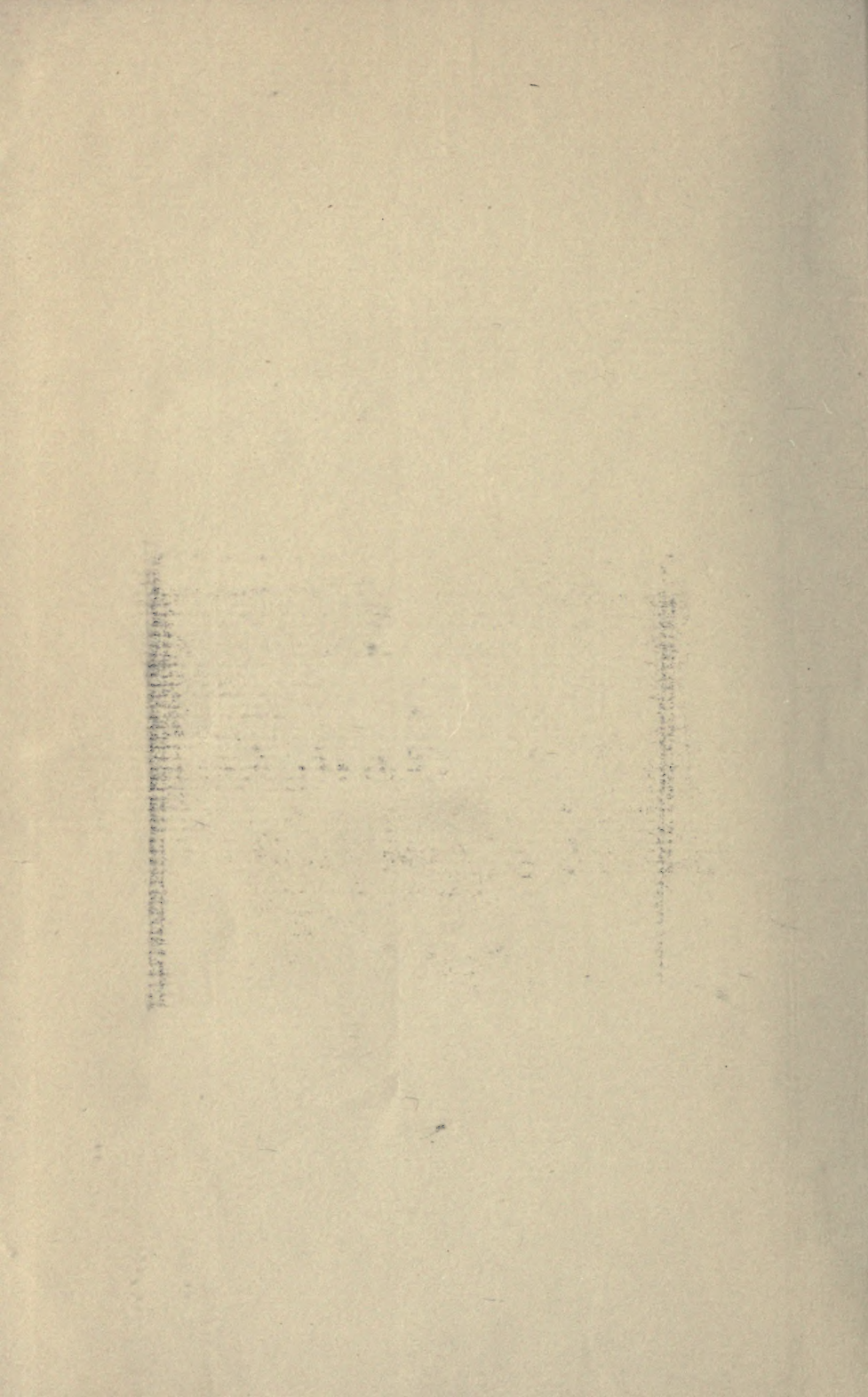
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